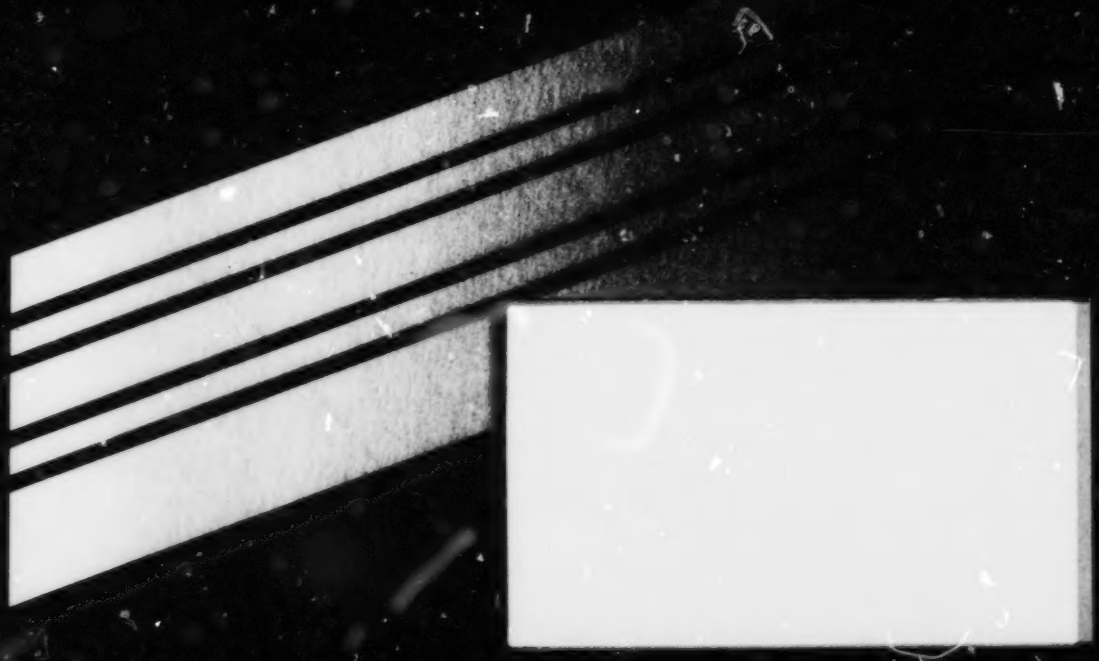
PARTS OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

ARE OF POOR REPRODUCTIVE QUALITY

CERTAINES PARTIES DU DOCUMENT ORIGINAL

SONT DE PIÈTRE QUALITÉ DE REPRODUCTION

Programs Branch User Report



Solicitor General Canada
Ministry Secretariat

No. 1986-28

WOMEN AND CRIME IN CANADA

BY

HOLLY JOHNSON

This working paper was prepared by the Statistics Division, Programs Branch, Ministry of the Solicitor General. This report may not be published, cited or reproduced without permission of the Ministry.

Disponible en français

Executive Summary

Increasing awareness of and concern about the needs of women who become involved in the criminal justice system has prompted an initiative by the Ministry of the Solicitor General to promote research, programs and services for women in conflict with the law. This document assembles available statistical data to inform program and policy development for women offenders.

A crucial question has been the link between the status of women in society and the crimes that women commit. Statistics Canada figures illustrate that Canadian women are economically and socially disadvantaged relative to Canadian men. Women remain concentrated in low paying jobs and are four times as likely as men to be living below the poverty line. Crime statistics show that three-quarters of charges laid against women by police are for shoplifting or fraud, or for violations of drug or liquor regulations. Future research must focus on the relationship between these offences and the social and economic status of women in Canadian society.

Native women are among the most severely disadvantaged cultural groups in Canada. They are also vastly overrepresented in crime statistics at every level of the criminal justice system. Native women are more likely than non-native women to be charged with crimes of violence and liquor related offences, and more likely to be incarcerated for the inability to pay court-ordered fines. Native women also have a much higher rate of recidivism.

The number of women who come into conflict with the law is on the increase. As a proportion of all known offenders, women increased from 10% in 1975 to 13% in 1984; however, the majority of charges against women were for non-violent crimes. Crimes of violence accounted for about 6% of women charged with Criminal Code offences over this ten year time span.

Approximately 15% of women who are convicted receive a carceral sentence. More than 13,000 women were admitted to correctional institutions in Canada in 1984, slightly over 100 with federal sentences of two years or longer. The small numbers of women incarcerated at any one time has led to difficulties in providing a wide range of services to address their special needs.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

Introduction 1

I. Persons Charged by Police 4

II. The Canadian Urban Victimization Survey 21

III. Sentencing 34

IV. Admissions to Prison 38

V. Native Women 57

Selected Readings 75

Appendix I

Appendix II

References

List of Tables

		Page
Table 1.1	Persons Charged by Type of Legislative Offence Category and Sex, 1975-1984	5
Table 1.2	Charging Rates by Type of Legislative Offence Category and Sex, 1975-1984	7
Table 1.3	Females Charged with Selected Offences, 1975-1984	8
Table 1.4	Males Charged with Selected Offences, 1975-1984	10
Table 1.5	Charging Rates for Selected Offences by Sex, 1975-1984	11
Table 1.6	Males and Females Charged with Violent, Property and Other Offences, 1975-1984 ...	13
Table 1.7	Charging Rates for Violent, Property and Other Offences by Sex, 1975-1984	14
Table 1.8	Females as a Proportion of Persons Charged with Violent, Property and Other Offences, 1975-1984	15
Table 1.9	Marital Status of Homicide Suspects by Sex, 1975-1983	16
Table 1.10	Relationship to Victim of Homicide Suspects by Sex, 1975-1983	17
Table 1.11	Method of Committing Homicide Offences by Sex, 1975-1983	18
Table 2.1	Sex of Offender(s) and Type of Violent Offence	24
Table 2.2	Type of Violent Offence and Sex of Offender(s)	26
Table 2.3	Sex of Victim and Sex of Violent Offender(s)	27
Table 2.4	Details of Violent Incidents by Sex of Offender(s)	28
Table 2.5	Age and Sex of Violent Offender(s)	30
Table 2.6	Age of Victim and Sex of Violent Offender(s)	30

List of Tables

		Page
Table 2.7	Relationship to Victim and Sex of Violent Offender(s)	31
Table 2.8	Violent Offences Reported to Police by Number and Sex of Offender(s)	31
Table 2.9	Reasons Given for Not Reporting Personal Violent Offences by Sex of Offender(s) ...	32
Table 3.1	Charges, Convictions and Percent Distribution of Dispositions in Quebec Adult Criminal Courts by Sex, 1980	35
Table 3.2	Charges, Convictions and Percent Distribution of Dispositions in British Columbia Adult Criminal Courts by Sex, 1980	37
Table 4.1	Males and Females Admitted under Federal Sentence, 1975-1984	40
Table 4.2	Population on Register under Federal Sentence, 1975-1985	41
Table 4.3	Rates of Incarceration under Federal Sentence by Sex, 1975-1984	42
Table 4.4	Women Admitted under Federal Sentence by Region of Admitting Institution, 1980-1984	44
Table 4.5	Women on Register under Federal Sentence in Provincial Institutions by Region, 1975-1984	45
Table 4.6	Major Offence of Women on Register under Federal Sentence in the Prison for Women and Provincial Institutions, 1980-1984 ...	46
Table 4.7	Length of Aggregate Sentence of Women on Register under Federal Sentence in the Prison for Women and Provincial Institutions, 1980-1984	48
Table 4.8	Age of Inmates Admitted under Federal Sentence by Sex, 1975-1984	49

List of Tables

		Page
Table 4.9	Marital Status of Inmates Admitted under Federal Sentence by Sex, 1975-1984	50
Table 4.10	Major Offence of Inmates Admitted under Federal Sentence by Sex, 1975-1984	51
Table 4.11	Length of Aggregate Sentence of Inmates Admitted under Federal Sentence by Sex, 1975-1984	53
Table 4.12	Percent Distribution of Aggregate Sentence Length of Inmates Admitted under Federal Sentence by Major Offence and Sex, 1975-1984 Combined	54
Table 4.13	Number of Previous Federal Committals of Inmates Admitted under Federal Sentence by Sex, 1975-1984	55
Table 5.1	Marital Status of Female Homicide Suspects by Ethnicity, 1975-1983	62
Table 5.2	Relationship to Victim of Female Homicide Suspects by Ethnicity, 1975-1983	63
Table 5.3	Age of Female Homicide Suspects by Ethnicity, 1975-1983	64
Table 5.4	Age of Women Admitted under Federal Sentence by Ethnicity, 1975-1984	66
Table 5.5	Marital Status of Women Admitted under Federal Sentence by Ethnicity, 1975-1984	67
Table 5.6	Major Offence of Women Admitted under Federal Sentence by Ethnicity, 1975-1984	68
Table 5.7	Length of Aggregate Sentence of Women Admitted under Federal Sentence by Ethnicity, 1975-1984	69

List of Tables

		Page
Table 5.8	Percent Distribution of Aggregate Sentence of Women Admitted under Federal Sentence by Major Offence and Ethnicity, 1975-1984 Combined	70
Table 5.9	Region of Admission of Women Admitted under Federal Sentence by Ethnicity, 1980-1984	72
Table 5.10	Ethnicity of Women Serving Federal Sentences in the Prison for Women and Provincial Institutions, 1980-1984	73
Table 5.11	Number of Previous Federal Committals of Women Admitted under Federal Sentence by Ethnicity, 1975-1984	74

Introduction

We in Canada are just beginning to gather and analyze statistical information about women offenders in a systematic way. Thousands of women come into conflict with the law in Canada each year. Nevertheless, they make up a relatively small proportion of all offenders and tend not to pose as great a threat to public safety or to the management of correctional institutions as do male offenders. Perhaps for these reasons, they have long been considered "criminologically much less interesting" (Cowie, Cowie and Slater, 1968:1). Most research, policy and corrections programs have had male offenders as their focus. The consequences of an essentially male perspective on crime and criminality have been to treat women as though their needs are identical to the needs of men, to fall back on well-rehearsed assumptions about women's traditional social roles, or to ignore female criminality altogether.

Until very recently, the study of women and crime has suffered from a serious lack of data. Notwithstanding the effort that goes into standardizing and systematizing data collection throughout the criminal justice system, crime statistics which separate female and male offenders are in the developing stages. Advances in computer technology and an initiative by the Ministry of the Solicitor General to promote research and programs for women in conflict with the law should ensure ongoing improvements to crime data bases in Canada and to our depth of knowledge about women offenders. Accurate information about the characteristics and criminal careers of women offenders will aid in a better understanding of how and why women come into conflict with the law, what services should be available to them, and what can be done to reduce crime by women.

Using official crime statistics, this publication traces the involvement of women with the criminal justice system throughout the ten year period 1975 to 1984.[1] Available data concerning contacts with police, courts, provincial and federal correctional institutions are described and analyzed, and discussions of the quality and limitations of the data are provided in Appendices to assist in interpretation. Data describing public perceptions of women offenders and reporting behaviour of victims are based on the findings of the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey. All other data outlining contacts between women and criminal justice agencies were derived from publications and special requests to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics and the Correctional Service of Canada. Because these data are presented in conjunction with comparable statistical information about men, this publication is also in part about male offenders and about the Canadian justice system.

Many of the early theories about female criminality evolved in the absence of comprehensive empirical data on the extent and nature of crimes by women, or on the social and economic characteristics of offenders, and are seriously flawed because of it. Most were founded on outmoded conceptions about the nature of women and flourished in a largely male scientific and intellectual environment. When women were considered in 19th century criminology, they were typically described as less sensitive to pain than men, morally deficient, "revengeful, jealous and inclined to

---

[1] See S. G. Adams, The Female Offender: A Statistical Perspective, (Ottawa: Solicitor General Canada, 1978) for an analysis of arrest, court and corrections data from 1965 to 1975.

vengeances of a refined cruelty" (Lombroso, 1895:151). The tradition of Freud held that deviant women were those who could not accept and internalize their presumed inferiority and who acted out "masculine" characteristics of autonomy and aggressive rebellion. Others, more recently, have held that because of the deceitful and manipulative nature of women and the misplaced gallantry of men, crimes by women are less likely to be reported to police, are less likely to be detected and are dealt with more leniently by males in the criminal justice system (Pollak, 1961:2). And, crime by women has been explained as an unexpected negative backlash of the women's movement (Adler, 1975; Simon, 1975).

Increasingly, theories of female criminality are showing an appreciation of the social and economic position of women in modern society. Although statistical descriptions are incomplete, the evidence available to date describes a population which is economically and socially disadvantaged, poorly educated, and often the victims of neglect and physical and sexual abuse. The contemporary women's movement has directed public attention to the status of women in all facets of social life and is stimulating discussion about the relationship of women to the criminal justice system. By assembing and analyzing as wide a range of statistical information as possible on female offenders in Canada, this publication seeks to clarify the issues and inform the development of research and programs for women in conflict with the law.

I. Persons Charged by Police

Statistics Canada, and more recently the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics (CCJS), has been recording criminal incidents on a national scale since 1962. Each police department across the country submits monthly statistics to the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) Program on the number of offences recorded under the Criminal Code, federal statutes, provincial statutes and municipal by-laws. Police are required to indicate offences reported or known to them, unfounded and actual offences, offences cleared and persons charged. Sex of offender is noted for those incidents for which a suspect is identified and a charge laid. UCR data are the only source of national information on crime rates and trends and is regularly used to draw comparisons of crime by women and men.[2]

UCR data are presented in this report to examine certain claims that have been made recently about women offenders, i.e., that the number of women who come into conflict with the law is growing rapidly, that the increase in crime by women is exceeding the increase in crime by men, and that the increase for women is primarily in crimes of violence. Tables 1.1 through 1.8 display persons charged over the ten year period 1975 to 1984, by sex and offence category. It is evident from Table 1.1 that the number of men charged by police each year far exceeds the number of women charged in all offence categories. In 1984, police recorded charges against 98,545 women and 657,845 men, an increase over 1975 of 52% in the number of women and 16% in the number of men. As a proportion of all persons charged, women increased from 10% in 1975 to 13% in 1984.

---

[2] The complexity and the many limitations inherent in UCR data requires that it be interpreted carefully. For further discussion of the quality and limitations of UCR data, see Appendix I.

TABLE 1.1

PERSONS CHARGED BY TYPE OF LEGISLATIVE OFFENCE CATEGORY AND SEX, 1975-1984

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975-1984 PERCENT CHANGE	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Criminal Code[1]	235,462	38,625 (14.0)	254,380	43,250 (14.5)	265,677	44,108 (14.2)	277,263	49,006 (15.0)	289,930	52,151 (15.2)	318,859	56,608 (15.0)	334,720	59,803 (14.8)	326,882	59,957 (15.5)	341,795	61,022 (15.6)	338,902	61,001 (15.8)	+42.2	+64.0
Federal Statute[1]	58,067	5,842 (9.1)	68,561	7,162 (9.7)	76,146	7,851 (9.3)	72,513	8,117 (10.1)	66,522	7,449 (10.1)	68,020	8,186 (10.7)	68,501	8,035 (10.5)	52,069	6,671 (11.4)	49,061	6,674 (12.0)	43,678	5,445 (11.1)	-24.8	-6.8
Provincial Statute[1]	249,803	17,537 (6.6)	231,870	16,000 (6.5)	247,778	18,212 (6.8)	258,165	19,120 (6.9)	322,497	23,264 (6.7)	314,843	27,798 (8.1)	334,741	28,508 (7.8)	297,187	27,886 (8.6)	279,968	28,062 (9.1)	254,429	25,696 (9.2)	+1.9	+46.5
Municipal By-Law[1]	23,440	2,960 (11.2)	22,756	3,524 (13.4)	23,000	3,689 (13.8)	21,982	3,761 (14.6)	22,777	4,307 (15.9)	23,636	4,122 (14.9)	27,163	4,969 (15.4)	26,269	5,384 (17.0)	24,068	4,670 (16.1)	24,816	4,609 (15.1)	+6.0	+48.8
TOTAL	566,772	64,764	577,569	70,136	612,601	73,860	629,923	80,004	701,726	87,171	725,356	96,514	765,125	101,293	702,407	99,898	694,892	102,428	657,845	98,545	+16.1	+52.2
PERCENT OF TOTAL	89.7	10.3	89.2	10.8	89.2	10.8	88.7	11.3	89.0	11.0	88.3	11.7	88.3	11.7	87.5	12.5	87.2	12.8	87.0	13.0		
PERCENT CHANGE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR			+1.9	+8.3	+6.1	+5.3	+2.8	+8.3	+11.4	+9.0	+3.4	+10.7	+5.5	+5.0	-8.2	-1.4	-1.1	+2.5	-5.3	-3.2		

(1) Excludes Traffic Offences

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.
Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.

Percentage increases and distributions based on absolute numbers can be deceptive, however, in comparing male and female criminality. Because of the lower base number of women offenders, percentage changes will consistently give the appearance of greater increases in the number of women charged relative to the number of men. For example, an increase of 600% in the number of women charged with first degree murder reflects a "real" increase of only 12 women. Rate changes, percentage changes and relative participation in crime expressed through proportions are all rendered more meaningful when given a common denominator. Notwithstanding that the increase in charges against women was higher (52%) than the increase in charges against men (16%), the rate at which women were charged by the police per 100,000 women in the population shows a substantial but smaller increase over the ten year period (207) than the increase for men (281) (Table 1.2). The growth in the actual number of men charged is almost triple the increase in the actual number of women charged. The rate of female criminality has been low and remains low, even if increasing.

Hence, although the number of women who come into conflict with the law is growing, the increase is not exceeding the increase shown for men, nor is the increase in crime by women due primarily to crimes of violence. According to police statistics, the offences in which women are involved most often and which have shown the biggest increases are, arguably, consistent with women's traditional role as consumers/"shoppers" and often as low income, semi-skilled, sole support providers for their families. Shoplifting (26%), other theft and fraud (12%) and offences under impaired driving, drug and liquor regulations (38%) account for three-quarters of all women charged over this period (Table 1.3). Shoplifting is the one offence (apart from infanticide and prostitution-related offences) in which

TABLE 1.2

CHARGING RATES BY TYPE OF LEGISLATIVE OFFENCE CATEGORY AND SEX, 1975-1984

Rates per 100,000 Male and Female Population

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975-1984 RATE CHANGE		1975-1984 PERCENT CHANGE	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Criminal Code(1)	2,081.2	337.6	2,221.8	374.7	2,294.6	377.2	2,372.0	414.3	2,458.5	436.3	2,672.9	465.7	2,771.5	487.2	2,678.2	482.4	2,771.5	501.5	2,693.5	496.3	+612.3	+158.7	+29.4	+47.0
Federal Statute(1)	513.2	51.3	598.8	63.8	657.7	67.1	620.3	68.6	564.1	62.3	570.2	67.6	567.6	65.4	426.6	55.7	390.1	53.1	351.3	42.9	-161.9	-8.4	-31.5	-16.4
Provincial Statute(1)	2,207.9	154.1	2,025.2	138.6	2,140.0	155.7	2,208.6	161.7	2,734.6	194.6	2,639.2	229.5	2,771.7	292.2	2,434.9	224.6	2,271.9	223.3	2,046.3	202.4	-161.6	+48.3	-7.3	+31.3
Municipal By-Law(-)	207.2	26.0	198.8	30.5	198.6	31.5	188.1	31.8	193.1	36.0	198.1	34.0	225.1	40.3	215.2	43.3	195.3	37.2	199.8	34.7	-7.4	+8.7	-3.6	+33.5
TOTAL	5,009.6	568.9	5,044.5	607.6	5,209.9	631.6	5,388.9	676.4	5,950.3	729.2	6,080.5	796.8	6,340.0	825.2	5,754.8	803.8	5,638.7	815.1	5,290.9	776.3	+281.3	+207.4	+5.6	+36.5
PERCENT CHANGE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR			+0.7	+6.8	+4.9	+3.9	+1.9	+7.1	+10.4	+7.8	+2.2	+9.3	+4.3	+3.6	-9.2	-2.6	-2.0	1.4	-6.2	-4.8				

(1) Excludes Traffic Offences

Sources: 1981 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada Catalogue 92-901.
Statistics Canada, Demography Division, unpublished updates.
Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.
Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.

TABLE 1.3

FEMALES CHARGED WITH SELECTED OFFENCES, 1975-1984

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1975-1984 TOTALS NUMBER	1975-1984 TOTALS PERCENT	1975-1984 PERCENT CHANGE
Murder-Capital/1st Degree	0	2	10[1]	10	22	14	20	16	25	14	153	.02	+600.0[2]
Murder-Non Capital/2nd Degree	61	61	46	37	36	16	54	41	45	32	449	0.05	-47.5
Manslaughter	10	9	10	7	6	7	6	10	8	7	80	.01	-30.0
Infanticide	0	4	1	5	3	4	1	1	6	1	28	.003	-75.0[2]
Attempt Murder/Wounding	240	216	251	257	347	306	345	336	79[3]	86	2,465	0.3	-64.2
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	44	37	35	26	61	65	61	121	189[4]	176	815	0.1	+300.0
Assault	2,702	3,001	3,147	3,325	3,519	3,955	4,107	4,227	5,124[5]	5,715	39,022	4.6	+111.5
Robbery	398	409	401	422	429	518	524	525	491	519	4,658	0.5	+30.4
Break and Enter	1,098	1,305	1,397	1,525	1,665	2,031	2,072	1,954	1,995	1,888	16,930	2.0	+71.9
Theft Over $200	557	665	705	853	1,078	1,227	1,498	1,561	1,685	1,872	11,676	1.4	+226.1
Theft Under $200	1,973	1,976	2,155	2,046	2,247	2,327	2,535	2,761	2,772	2,615	23,403	2.7	+32.4
Shoplifting	15,843	18,187	16,892	20,510	22,263	23,218	24,705	25,865	26,399	25,861	219,745	25.6	+63.2
Motor Vehicle Theft	458	466	570	551	610	681	659	617	596	526	5,714	0.7	+14.8
Fraud	3,954	4,727	5,481	6,350	6,632	7,426	8,101	8,446	8,560	9,219	68,896	8.0	+133.2
Prostitution	2,372	2,038	1,927	867	921	960	851	427	571	547	11,481	1.3	-76.9
Impaired Driving	5,148	5,780	6,895	7,517	8,053	9,091	9,976	9,440	10,526	10,644	81,070	9.7	+106.8
Federal Statute Drugs	4,292	5,247	5,355	5,098	5,152	5,533	5,666	4,524	4,494	3,908	49,669	5.8	-8.9
Liquor Act	15,052	13,779	16,231	17,071	20,465	24,099	24,420	22,465	21,695	20,400	195,679	22.9	+35.5
Other Criminal Code[6]	8,715	10,149	11,081	12,215	12,312	13,613	14,266	13,047	14,275[6]	13,923	123,616	14.4	+59.8
TOTAL FEMALES CHARGED	62,917	68,056	72,591	78,692	85,821	95,581	99,865	96,386	99,757	97,951	857,549	100.0	+55.7
ALL PERSONS CHARGED	695,025	711,416	752,891	771,474	861,468	891,381	934,532	851,509	850,160	810,731	8,132,589		+16.6
PERCENT FEMALE	9.1	9.6	9.6	10.2	10.0	10.7	10.7	11.3	11.7	12.1	10.5		+3.0

(1) The increase in the number of charges for 1st degree murder from capital murder may be attributed to the 1976 change in legislation which provided a broader range of definitions for the offence and abolished capital punishment.

(2) Based on 1976-1984 percentage change.

(3) UCR data categorization changed in 1983 to include wounding under assault.

(4) UCR data categorization reflects the January 1983 amendment to the Criminal Code in which three levels of sexual assault were introduced to replace rape.

(5) Other Criminal Code offences include possession of stolen goods, gaming and betting, offensive weapons, arson, bail violations, disturbing the peace, kidnapping, obstructing public peace officer, wilful damage and other Criminal Code.

(6) UCR data categorization in 1983 included Other Crimes of Violence which counts sexual assault and assault data recorded by the police prior to the proclamation of Bill C-127 on January 3, 1983. This category provides for charges laid under the previous legislation between January 1 and January 3, 1983. In addition, police reporting practices may have lagged behind changes to the legislation.

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.
Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.

women have almost reached parity with men in numbers charged and in rates per 100,000 population (Tables 1.4 and 1.5). In total, crimes against property increased by 76% or 121 per 100,000 women, while crimes of violence increased by 90% but only 21 per 100,000 women (Tables 1.6 and 1.7). Whereas the percentage increases for men were smaller in both cases, the rate increases per 100,000 men in the population were considerably larger than those shown for women.

Research on violence by women is extremely limited. From the data available from CCJS on homicide offences, a link can be drawn between the vulnerability of women to violence by their spouses and the relatively rare acts of extreme violence committed by women. Six in every ten women charged with homicide offences between 1975 and 1983 were married or living in a common law arrangement at the time of the offence (Table 1.9), and six in ten shared a domestic relationship with the victim, usually spouses or common law partners (Table 1.10). Further, the most frequent method of committing homicide was stabbing (38%), indicating reliance on a readily accessible domestic weapon (Table 1.11). Male homicide suspects, on the other hand, were most likely to be single, to have a social or business relationship with the victim, and to commit homicide by shooting.

These findings suggest that the circumstances leading to homicide are different for women than they are for men. Some support is provided by these data for the contention that many women who kill do so out of a sense of self defence, perhaps after years of physical and emotional abuse by partners. One Canadian study of women offenders determined that their violent behaviour occurred primarily within the family milieu (Rosenblatt and Greeland, 1974). The incidence of violence and abuse in the lives of women who assault or kill domestic partners is currently unknown, and an important area for future study.

TABLE 1.4

MALES CHARGED WITH SELECTED OFFENCES, 1975-1984

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1975-1984 TOTALS NUMBER	1975-1984 TOTALS PERCENT	1975-1984 PERCENT CHANGE
Murder-Capital/1st Degree	7	9	155(1)	189	180	172	196	220	212	208	1,548	.02	+2,871.4
Murder-Non Capital/2nd Degree	398	406	295	279	273	212	228	248	243	211	2,791	.04	-47.0
Manslaughter	45	44	44	45	30	42	54	58	47	40	409	.01	-11.1
Infanticide	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	-	-100.0
Attempt Murder/Wounding	1,220	1,281	1,328	1,401	1,447	1,536	1,855	1,817	624(2)	681	13,196	0.2	-44.0
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	3,467	3,469	3,606	3,958	4,110	4,146	4,361	4,369	5,081(3)	6,143	42,710	0.6	+77.2
Assault	28,778	30,028	30,686	31,828	33,134	34,899	35,268	38,977	43,795(2)	48,305	351,696	4.8	+67.9
Robbery	5,549	5,402	5,664	5,800	5,524	6,817	6,748	6,963	6,456	6,199	61,142	0.8	+11.7
Break and Enter	30,381	32,796	33,618	35,993	37,145	44,557	47,206	48,385	49,377	44,442	403,920	5.6	+46.3
Theft Over $200	6,450	7,081	7,595	8,275	9,980	12,520	14,274	14,260	15,074	14,818	110,327	1.5	+129.7
Theft Under $200	20,785	20,767	20,651	21,189	22,031	23,745	25,792	26,108	25,311	23,091	229,450	3.2	+11.1
Shoplifting	18,613	21,677	20,720	22,685	24,159	27,184	30,435	34,404	36,417	35,869	272,159	3.7	+92.7
Motor Vehicle Theft	11,412	11,313	11,418	11,360	11,822	12,205	11,999	10,752	10,288	9,663	112,232	1.5	-15.5
Fraud	16,788	18,573	19,170	20,752	20,872	23,255	25,471	26,655	26,509	27,499	225,522	3.1	+63.8
Prostitution	696	901	958	965	591	569	983	257	351	461	6,512	0.1	-33.8
Impaired Driving	137,889	137,465	141,929	142,221	147,207	148,401	152,072	135,984	137,140	128,290	1,406,598	19.3	-7.0
Federal Statute Drugs	39,650	47,795	49,893	43,777	47,523	53,298	53,335	38,498	36,074	34,507	444,350	6.1	-13.0
Liquor Act	215,167	203,720	222,801	231,521	290,987	275,292	294,540	255,759	235,416	215,079	2,444,224	33.6	-1.8
Other Criminal Code(4)	90,872	100,633	109,771	112,544	118,832	126,980	129,872	117,449	122,050(5)	117,270	1,146,253	15.8	+29.0
TOTAL MALES CHARGED	632,108	643,360	680,302	694,782	775,647	795,850	834,667	755,123	750,423	712,778	7,275,040	100.0	+12.8
ALL PERSONS CHARGED	695,025	711,416	752,893	773,474	861,468	891,381	934,552	851,509	850,160	810,731	8,132,589		+16.6
PERCENT MALE	90.9	90.4	90.4	89.8	90.0	89.3	89.3	88.7	88.4	87.9	89.5		-3.0

(1) The increase in the number of charges for 1st degree murder from capital murder may be attributed to the 1976 change in legislation which provided a broader range of definitions for the offence and abolished capital punishment.

(2) UCR data categorization changed in 1983 to include wounding under assault.

(3) UCR data categorization reflects the January 1983 amendment to the Criminal Code in which three levels of sexual assault were introduced to replace rape.

(4) Other Criminal Code offences include possession of stolen goods, gaming and betting, offensive weapons, arson, bail violations, disturbing the peace, kidnapping, obstructing public peace officer, wilful damage and other Criminal Code.

(5) UCR data categorization in 1983 included Other Crimes of Violence which counts sexual assault and assault data recorded by the police prior to the proclamation of Bill C-127 on January 1, 1983. This category provides for charges laid under the previous legislation between January 1 and January 4, 1983. In addition, police reporting practices may have lagged behind changes to the legislation.

- The base figure was too low to calculate a percentage.

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.
Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.

TABLE 1.5
CHARGING RATES FOR SELECTED OFFENCES BY SEX, 1975-1982

Rates per 100,000 Male and Female Population

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Murder-Capital/1st degree	0.1	-	0.1	-	1.3	0.1	1.6	0.3	1.5	0.2	1.4	0.1	1.6	0.2	1.8	0.1
Murder-Non Capital/2nd degree	3.5	0.5	3.5	0.5	2.5	0.4	2.4	0.3	2.3	0.3	1.8	0.3	1.9	0.4	2.0	0.3
Manslaughter	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	-	0.3	0.1
Infanticide	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Attempted Murder/Wounding	10.8	2.1	11.2	1.9	11.5	2.2	12.0	2.2	12.3	2.9	12.9	2.5	15.4	2.8	14.9	2.7
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	30.6	0.4	30.3	0.3	31.1	0.3	33.9	0.2	34.9	0.5	34.8	0.5	36.1	0.5	35.8	1.0
Assault	254.4	23.7	262.3	26.0	265.0	26.9	272.3	28.1	281.0	29.4	292.5	32.7	292.2	33.5	286.6	34.0
Robbery	49.0	3.5	47.2	3.5	48.9	3.4	49.6	3.6	46.8	3.6	57.3	4.4	55.9	4.3	57.0	4.2
Break & Enter	268.5	9.6	286.4	11.3	290.5	11.9	307.9	12.9	315.0	13.9	373.5	16.8	391.2	16.9	396.4	15.7
Theft over $200	57.0	4.9	61.8	5.7	65.6	6.0	70.8	7.0	84.6	9.0	105.0	10.1	118.3	12.2	116.8	12.6
Theft under $200	181.7	17.3	181.4	17.1	178.2	18.4	181.3	17.3	186.8	18.8	199.0	19.2	213.7	20.6	213.9	22.2
Shoplifting	164.5	139.2	189.3	157.6	179.0	144.4	198.1	171.4	204.9	186.2	227.9	191.7	252.2	201.3	281.9	200.1
Motor Vehicle Theft	100.9	4.0	98.8	4.0	98.6	4.9	97.2	4.5	100.2	5.1	102.3	5.6	99.4	5.4	88.1	5.0
Fraud	148.4	34.7	162.2	41.0	165.6	46.9	177.5	53.7	177.0	55.5	196.9	61.3	211.1	66.0	218.2	68.0
Prostitution	6.2	20.8	7.9	17.7	8.3	16.5	8.3	7.3	5.3	7.7	4.8	7.9	8.1	6.9	2.1	3.4
Impaired Driving	1,218.8	45.2	1,200.6	50.1	1,225.8	59.0	1,216.7	63.6	1,248.2	67.4	1,244.0	75.1	1,260.1	81.3	1,097.7	76.0
Federal Statute Drugs	350.5	37.7	417.4	45.5	430.9	45.8	374.5	43.1	403.0	43.1	446.8	49.0	441.9	46.2	315.4	36.4
Liquor Act	1,936.6	132.2	1,779.3	119.4	1,924.3	138.8	1,980.6	144.3	2,467.4	171.2	2,307.7	198.9	2,440.6	198.9	2,095.4	180.7
Other Criminal Code(1)	803.2	76.6	878.9	87.9	948.1	94.8	962.8	103.4	1,007.6	103.0	1,064.4	112.4	1,076.1	116.2	962.3	105.0
TOTAL	5,587.1	552.7	5,619.1	589.6	5,875.6	620.8	5,943.8	665.4	6,577.1	717.9	6,671.4	788.7	6,916.2	813.6	6,186.7	775.6
PERCENT CHANGE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR			+0.6	+6.7	+4.6	+5.3	+1.2	+7.2	+10.7	+7.9	+1.4	+9.9	+3.7	+3.2	-10.5	-4.7

(1) Other Criminal Code offences include possession of stolen goods, gaming, and betting, offensive weapons, arson, bail violations, disturbing the peace, kidnapping, obstructing public peace officer, wilful damage and other Criminal Code.

(-) Rate calculated per 100,000 population was below 0.1.

Sources: 1981 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada Catalogue 92-901; Statistics Canada, Demography Division, unpublished updates; Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205; Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205.

(continued)

TABLE 1.5 (Continued)

Rates per 100,000 Male and Female Population

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	1983		1984		1975-1984 Rate Change		1975-1984 Percent Change	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Murder-Capital/1st degree	1.7	0.2	1.7	0.1	+1.6	+0.1	+1600.0	-
Murder-Non Capital/2nd degree	2.0	0.4	1.7	0.3	-1.8	-0.2	-51.4	-40.0
Manslaughter	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.1	-0.1	0.0	-25.0	-
Infanticide	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-
Attempted Murder/Wounding	5.1	0.6	5.5	0.7	-5.1	-1.4	-49.1	-66.7
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	41.2	1.5	49.4	1.4	+18.8	+1.0	+61.4	-250.0
Assault	355.4	42.4	388.5	45.0	+134.1	+21.3	+12.7	+43.5
Robbery	52.4	3.9	49.9	4.1	+0.9	+0.6	+1.8	+17.1
Break & Enter	400.7	[illegible]	357.4	14.9	+88.9	+5.3	+33.1	+55.2
Theft over $200	122.3	13.[illegible]	119.2	14.7	+62.2	+9.8	+109.1	+200.0
Theft under $200	205.4	22.1	185.7	20.6	+2.0	+3.3	+1.1	+19.1
Shoplifting	295.5	210.1	288.5	205.7	+124.0	+64.5	+75.4	+46.3
Motor Vehicle Theft	81.5	4.7	77.7	4.1	-21.2	+0.1	-21.0	+2.5
Fraud	215.1	68.1	221.2	72.6	+72.8	+37.9	+49.1	+109.2
Prostitution	2.7	4.5	3.7	4.3	-2.5	-16.5	-40.3	-79.3
Impaired Driving	1,112.8	85.8	1,031.8	85.[illegible]	-187.0	+38.6	-15.3	+85.4
Federal Statute Drugs	292.7	35.8	277.5	30.8	-75.0	-6.9	-20.8	-18.3
Liquor Act	1,910.3	172.6	1,729.8	160.7	-206.8	+28.5	-10.7	+21.6
Other Criminal Code(1)	990.2	115.6	983.2	109.7	+140.0	+35.1	+17.4	+43.2
TOTAL	6,089.3	795.7	5,732.7	771.6	+145.6	+218.9	+2.6	+39.6
PERCENT CHANGE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR	-1.6	+2.3	-5.9	-2.8				

TABLE 1.6
MALES AND FEMALES CHARGED WITH VIOLENT, PROPERTY AND OTHER OFFENCES, 1975-1984

YEAR	MALES			FEMALES		
	VIOLENT(1)	PROPERTY(2)	OTHER(3)	VIOLENT(1)	PROPERTY(2)	OTHER(3)
1975	39,465	104,429	488,214	3,455	23,883	35,579
Percent	6.2	16.5	77.2	5.5	38.0	56.6
1976	40,639	112,207	490,514	3,739	27,324	36,993
Percent	6.3	17.4	76.2	5.5	40.1	54.4
1977	41,776	113,172	525,354	3,905	27,195	41,491
Percent	6.1	16.6	77.2	5.4	37.5	57.2
1978	43,502	120,252	531,028	4,109	31,795	42,788
Percent	6.3	17.3	76.4	5.2	40.4	54.4
1979	44,698	126,009	604,940	4,423	34,495	46,903
Percent	5.8	16.2	78.0	5.2	40.2	54.7
1980	47,844	143,466	604,540	4,925	36,910	53,696
Percent	6.0	18.0	76.0	5.2	38.6	56.2
1981	48,690	155,175	630,802	5,118	39,568	55,179
Percent	5.8	18.6	75.6	5.1	39.6	55.3
1982	48,634	160,542	545,947	5,277	41,206	49,903
Percent	6.4	21.3	72.3	5.5	42.8	51.8
1983	56,456	162,976	530,991(4)	6,169	42,007	51,561(4))
Percent	7.5	21.7	70.7	6.2	42.1	51.7
1984	61,789	155,382	495,607	6,550	41,981	49,422
Percent	8.7	21.8	69.5	6.7	42.9	50.5
1975-1984 PERCENT CHANGE	+56.6	+48.8	+1.5	+89.6	+75.8	+38.9

Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.
(1) Violent offences include murder, manslaughter, infanticide, attempted murder, wounding, rape, other sexual offences, assault and robbery.
(2) Property offences include break and enter, theft over $200, theft under $200, fraud, shoplifting, and motor vehicle theft.
(3) Other includes prostitution, impaired driving, possession of stolen goods, gaming and betting, offensive weapons, arson, bail violations, disturbing the peace, kidnapping, obstructing public peace officer, wilful damage, other Criminal Code and federal statute drug offences.
(4) UCR data categorization in 1983 included Other Crimes of Violence which counts sexual assault and assault data recorded by the police prior to the proclamation of Bill C-127 on January 3, 1983. This category provides for charges laid under the previous legislation between January 1 and January 3, 1983. In addition, police reporting practices may have lagged behind changes to the legislation.
Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, Annual Catalogue, #85-205
Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205

TABLE 1.7

CHARGING RATES FOR VIOLENT, PROPERTY AND OTHER OFFENCES BY SEX, 1975-1984

Rates per 100,000 Male and Female Population

YEAR	MALES			FEMALES		
	VIOLENT(1)	PROPERTY(2)	OTHER(3)	VIOLENT(1)	PROPERTY(2)	OTHER(3)
1975	348.8	923.0	4,315.2	30.4	209.8	312.6
1976	354.9	980.0	4,284.2	32.4	236.7	320.5
1977	360.8	977.4	4,537.4	33.4	232.5	354.8
1978	372.2	1,028.7	4,542.9	34.7	268.8	361.8
1979	379.0	1,068.5	5,129.6	37.0	288.6	392.4
1980	401.1	1,202.6	5,067.7	40.7	304.7	443.3
1981	403.5	1,285.8	5,226.9	41.7	322.3	449.5
1982	398.5	1,315.3	4,473.0	42.5	331.5	401.5
1983	458.1	1,322.5	4,308.7(4)	49.1	334.3	410.3(4)
1984	497.0	1,249.7	3,986.1	51.6	330.7	389.3
1975-1984 RATE CHANGE	+148.2	+326.7	-329.1	+21.2	+120.9	+76.7

(1) Violent offences include murder, manslaughter, infanticide, attempted murder, wounding, rape, other sexual offences, assault and robbery.

(2) Property offences include break and enter, theft over $200, theft under $200, fraud, shoplifting, and motor vehicle theft.

(3) Other includes prostitution, impaired driving, possession of stolen goods, gaming and betting, offensive weapons, arson, bail violations, disturbing the peace, kidnapping, obstructing public peace officer, wilful damage, other Criminal Code and federal statute drug offences.

(4) UCR data categorization in 1983 included Other Crimes of Violence which counts sexual assault and assault data recorded by the police prior to the proclamation of Bill C-127 on January 3, 1983. This category provides for charges laid under the previous legislation between January 1 and January 3, 1983. In addition, police reporting practices may have lagged behind changes to the legislation.

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, Annual Catalogue, #85-205
Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205

TABLE 1.8

FEMALES AS A PROPORTION OF PERSONS CHARGED WITH VIOLENT, PROPERTY AND OTHER OFFENCES, 1975-1984

YEAR	VIOLENT(1)	PROPERTY(2)	OTHER(3)
1975	8.0	18.6	6.8
1976	8.4	19.6	7.0
1977	8.5	19.4	7.3
1978	8.6	20.9	7.5
1979	9.0	21.5	7.2
1980	9.3	20.5	8.2
1981	9.5	20.3	8.0
1982	9.8	20.4	8.4
1983	9.9	20.5	8.8(4)
1984	9.6	21.3	9.1

(1) Violent offences include murder, manslaughter, infanticide, attempted murder, wounding, rape, other sexual offences, assault and robbery.

(2) Property offences include break and enter, theft over $200, theft under $200, fraud, shoplifting, and motor vehicle theft.

(3) Other includes prostitution, impaired driving, possession of stolen goods, gaming and betting, offensive weapons, arson, bail violations, disturbing the peace, kidnapping, obstructing public peace officer, wilful damage, other Criminal Code and federal statute drug offences.

(4) UCR data categorization in 1983 included Other Crimes of Violence which counts sexual assault and assault data recorded by the police prior to the proclamation of Bill C-127 on January 3, 1983. This category provides for charges laid under the previous legislation between January 1 and January 3, 1983. In addition, police reporting practices may have lagged behind changes to the legislation.

Source: Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics, Annual Catalogue, #85-205
Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics, Annual Catalogue #85-205

TABLE 1.9

MARITAL STATUS([1]) OF HOMICIDE SUSPECTS BY SEX, 1975-1983

	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1975-1983 TOTALS			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%	F	%
Single	222	9	223	14	268	16	294	20	236	18	223	16	248	14	258	17	253	26	2,225	47.9	170	24.4
Married/Common-Law	206	59	194	51	198	47	190	54	193	44	128	28	174	45	185	42	174	45	1,642	35.4	415	59.5
Widowed	4	-	7	3	7	2	2	-	3	-	6	3	8	-	7	1	4	1	48	1.0	10	1.4
Separated/Divorced	64	9	57	7	53	9	61	13	54	8	61	11	53	8	64	15	52	6	519	11.2	86	12.3
Not Stated	10	2	26	3	22	3	31	-	28	1	32	-	14	2	23	1	24	4	210	4.5	16	2.3
TOTAL	506	79	507	78	548	77	578	87	514	71	450	58	497	89	537	76	507	82	4,644	100.0	697	100.0

([1]) Marital status at time of offence.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Program (Homicide Project), 1985, unpublished data.

TABLE 1.10

RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIM OF HOMICIDE([1]) SUSPECTS BY SEX, 1975-1983

RELATIONSHIP	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1975 - 1983 TOTALS			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%	F	%
Domestic([2])	155	54	169	53	141	56	150	58	160	45	128	32	128	49	138	45	149	50	1,309	28.2	442	63.4
Non-Domestic (other)([3])	270	22	261	21	307	16	338	14	257	20	240	21	244	30	286	25	261	21	2,464	53.1	190	27.3
Non-Domestic (Criminal)([4])	81	3	86	4	100	5	90	15	97	6	82	5	125	10	113	6	97	11	871	18.8	65	9.3
Total	506	79	507	78	548	77	578	87	514	71	450	58	497	89	537	76	507	82	4,644	100.0	697	100.0

([1]) Includes murder, manslaughter and infanticide.
([2]) Includes immediate family, extended family, step relative, in-law relations, foster relations, and common law relations.
([3]) Includes social and business relationships, close friends, casual acquaintances and those which police are not able to establish a relationship (i.e. stranger).
([4]) Includes homicide committed during the commission of a criminal act where a relationship other than a domestic one existed.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Program (Homicide Project), 1985, unpublished data.

TABLE 1.11

METHOD OF COMMITTING HOMICIDE([1]) OFFENCES BY SEX, 1975-1985

METHOD	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1975-1983 TOTALS			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%	F	%
Shooting	213	17	185	20	208	14	225	17	161	15	159	10	145	15	174	17	145	11	1,617	34.8	136	19.5
Beating	146	20	137	20	135	13	157	11	146	10	117	14	139	14	140	17	156	18	1,273	27.4	137	19.7
Stabbing	81	31	102	28	123	27	110	36	118	27	118	20	140	35	150	26	119	37	1,063	22.9	267	38.3
Strangling	23	4	40	-	19	6	50	10	12	2	21	3	41	10	16	3	18	4	320	6.9	42	6.0
Suffocation	8	-	9	2	9	6	8	5	7	6	10	2	7	1	17	5	15	6	90	1.9	33	4.7
Drowning	9	-	6	2	10	2	7	1	7	6	3	3	4	3	3	1	-	4	49	1.1	22	3.2
Arson	5	2	2	-	8	1	1	-	6	1	5	-	3	-	1	-	6	1	37	0.8	5	0.7
Other/Not stated	19	5	26	6	16	8	20	7	35	4	17	6	18	11	16	7	28	1	195	4.2	55	7.9
Totals	506	79	507	78	548	77	578	87	514	71	450	58	497	89	517	76	507	82	4,644	100.0	697	100.0

([1]) Includes murder, manslaughter, and infanticide.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Program (Homicide Project), 1985, unpublished data.

The relationshiop between socio-economic factors and criminal behaviour is complex. As Brantingham and Brantingham state, "economic factors logically should matter, but the empirical support is mixed. Opportunity seems to matter and seems to be a valid analytic concept that should be used more frequently by researchers" (1984:160). Statistics Canada figures suggest that despite many real gains over the past decade in improving the economic and social position of Canadian women, large numbers remain trapped in a cycle of welfare, dependency and low-income jobs. About 98 out of every 100 women will get married during their lifetime; 68 will end up alone. Upon divorce, a woman's income goes down about 40% while a man's income goes up about 70%. Approximately one in ten families in Canada is headed by a single female parent. The average income of families headed by women is half the income of families headed by men; 45% of female-headed families live below the poverty line compared with 10% of male-headed families. While half of all women aged 15 and over are participating in the labour force, 77% of women with paid employment are concentrated in clerical, sales, service, teaching and health related positions, and 26% are employed part-time (Statistics Canada, Women in Canada, 1985).

This concentration of women's labour has contributed to persistent disparities in earnings; women still earn on average 64% of what men earn. The disparity applies regardless of women's education level: women with a university degree earn an average of only $1,600 per year more than men with a high school education.

Statistics describing women as underpaid and economically disadvantanged suggest an explanation for the propensity for women to commit crimes for monetary gain. However, to rely on a single factor to account for the participation of women (or men) in crime is simplistic, especially given that the number of women offenders remains low relative to the number of male offenders despite their poorer economic status. Future study must examine the consequences for female criminality of role expectations, socialization processes, and the differential treatment of women and men throughout the criminal justice system. All are related to the status of women in society but rarely have been considered essential to an understanding of women and crime in Canada. Further research is needed to determine how the daily realities of women influence their participation in crime, and to what extent the changing roles and position of women are effecting official responses to crime by women.

II. The Canadian Urban Victimization Survey

One of the most obvious limitations of official crime data is the exclusion of the "dark figure" of crime - those acts which are recognized as criminal but are not reported to police, or if they are reported, are diverted from official sanctioning. It has been suggested that women are "screened out" of the criminal justice system more often than men because of a protective attitude that assumes that criminality is inconsistent with traditional perceptions of women. If this is true, the number of women who are excluded from police statistics could be substantial. What's more, gradual changes in this attitude could well contribute to fluctuations in recorded female crime.

Crime victimization surveys explore crime from the victim's perspective and complement crime statistics by addressing directly the issue of unreported crime. Respondents are asked to describe incidents in which they had been the victim of a crime, whether or not they had notified the police, and to give their reasons for failure to report the incident. This information contributes to an understanding of variations in reporting behaviour, the distribution of certain crimes, the risk and impact of criminal victimization, public perceptions of crime and the criminal justice system, and victims' perceptions and needs. Such surveys do not, however, attempt to measure diversion from the criminal justice system by officials of that system.

In 1982, the Ministry of the Solicitor General, with the assistance of Statistics Canada, conducted a victimization survey in seven major urban centres: Greater Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Halifax-Darmouth and St. John's. More than 61,000 residents of these cities aged 16 years and older were interviewed by telephone about their experience with crime during the 1981 calendar year. Victimization surveys are necessarily limited to certain types of crimes. For instance, murder, kidnapping and "victimless" crimes such as drug offences and prostitution cannot be counted using survey techniques. Crimes against business establishments and public property were also excluded from this particular survey. The eight major offence categories addressed were sexual assault, robbery, assault, break and enter, motor vehicle theft, theft of personal property, theft of household property and vandalism.[3]

Data from the 1982 Canadian Urban Victimization Survey (CUVS) provide an opportunity to study violent crime involving women from the perspective of victims. Victims in face-to-face confrontations (sexual assault, robbery and assault) were asked to describe the offender and the circumstances of the offence. Sexual assault incidents will be excluded in this comparison because offenders were almost always male. The small number of robbery incidents involving women offenders does not allow detailed analysis of this offence. Responses of victims of robbery and assault have therefore been combined and counted jointly as descriptions of violent incidents.

---

3 Findings of the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey have been published in a series of Bulletins available from the Ministry of the Solicitor General.

The CUVS findings describe characteristics of female offenders that have been unavailable through traditional data sources, such as the apparent age of offenders, the location of the incident, the relationship of the offender to the victim, sex and age of victims, the degree of injury to the victim, the use of weapons by offenders, the use of drugs and alcohol, the proportion of offences that failed to come to the attention of police, reasons for not reporting to the police, and victims' perceptions of the seriousness of crime involving women.

These findings[4] are based on robbery[5] and assault[6] incidents in which victims were able to state the sex of the offender(s):

(1) 5% of the estimated 321,200 robbery and assault incidents were committed by women acting alone or with other women (Table 2.1). The large majority (91%) involved males acting alone or with other males, and the remaining 4% were committed by mixed sex groups of two or more offenders;

---

4 Offender characteristics are based on the perceptions and judgement of victims.

5 Robbery occurs if something is taken and the offender has a weapon or there is a threat or attack. The presence of a weapon is assumed to imply a threat. Attempted robberies are also included in this offence category.

6 Assault involves the presence of weapon or an attack or threat. Assault incidents may range from face-to-face verbal threats to an attack with extensive injuries. Approximately one-half of all assaults reported to the survey involved threats of violence and one-half involved actual attacks.

TABLE 2.1

SEX OF OFFENDER(S) AND TYPE OF VIOLENT OFFENCE

SEX OF OFFENDER(S)	TYPE OF OFFENCE					
	Robbery		Assault		Robbery and Assault Combined	
	Estimated Incidents	Percent	Estimated Incidents	Percent	Estimated Incidents	Percent
Females	1,300	3	14,400	5	15,700	5
Males	44,300	93	249,000	91	293,300	91
Females and Males Together in Groups	2,200	5	10,000	4	12,200	4
Total	47,800	100	273,400	100	321,200	100

Figures may not add to totals given due to rounding.

Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

(2) the incident was more likely to be described as an actual attack (rather than a threat of violence) in cases involving female offenders (63%) than in cases involving male offenders (44%) or groups of males and females (36%) (Table 2.2);

(3) females typically victimized other females: victims were female in 78% of incidents involving female offenders, 35% of incidents with male offenders, and 28% of incidents with mixed sex offender groups (Table 2.3);

(4) female victims were more likely to be injured than were male victims, regardless of the sex of the offender;

(5) perhaps because their victims were typically women, attacks by females were more likely to result in injury to victims (64%) than attacks by mixed sex groups (59%) or attacks by males (48%) (Table 2.4);

(6) weapons were less likely to be used by female offenders (23%) than by male offenders (34%) or groups of males and females (46%) (Table 2.4). Few female offenders were in possession of a gun;

TABLE 2.2

TYPE OF VIOLENT OFFENCE AND SEX OF OFFENDER(S)

TYPE OF OFFENCE	SEX OF OFFENDER					
	Females		Males		Females and Males Together in Groups	
	Estimated Incidents	Percent	Estimated Incidents	Percent	Estimated Incidents	Percent
Robbery	700*	5*	20,500	7	1,700	14
Attempted Robbery	500*	3*	23,500	8	500*	4*
Assault	9,900	63	129,000	44	4,400	36
Threat of Assault	4,600	29	120,300	41	5,600	46
Total	15,700	100	293,300	100	12,200	100

Figures may not add to totals given due to rounding.

* The actual count was low (11 to 20), therefore caution should be exercised when interpreting this estimate.

Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

TABLE 2.3

SEX OF VICTIM AND SEX OF VIOLENT OFFENDER(S)

SEX OF VICTIM	SEX OF OFFENDER		
	Females	Males	Females and Males Together in Groups
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Female	78	35	28
Male	22	65	72
Total	100	100	100

Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

TABLE 2.4

DETAILS OF VIOLENT INCIDENTS BY SEX OF OFFENDER(S)

DETAILS OF INCIDENT	SEX OF OFFENDER			
	Females	Males	Males and Females Together in Groups	All Violent Incidents
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Victim Injured	64	48	59	49
Use of Weapons	23	34	46	34
Gun	**	14	**	13
Knife	14*	25	**	24
Bottle	17*	13	22*	14
Blunt Instrument	**	18	30	18
Other Weapon	48	24	31	26
Use of Alcohol	36	39	48	40
Use of Drug	8*	9	11*	9

* The actual count was low (11 to 20), therefore caution should be exercised when interpreting this percentage.

** The actual count was too low to make statistically reliable population estimates.

Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

(7) the majority of female assailants (51%) and their victims (61%) were under 25 years of age (Table 2.5 and 2.6);

(8) 36% of female offenders, 39% of males and 48% of mixed sex groups were under the influence of alcohol during the commission of the offence (Table 2.4);

(9) victims were acquainted or related to female offenders in 65% of the cases (Table 2.7). Male offenders were known in 30% of violent incidents and groups of males and females in 35%;

(10) violent incidents least likely to be reported to police were those involving single female offenders (29%) (Table 2.8). Reporting rates increased to 47% when more than one female was involved, 41% in male only incidents, and 58% when females were involved in groups with males;

(11) reasons most commonly given by victims for not reporting violent incidents involving either males or females were that the incident was "too minor" to report, that the police could not do anything about it, and that the incident was a personal matter and of no concern to the police (Table 2.9). Victims of female offenders were more likely than victims of male offenders not to report the incident because it was a personal matter, and out of a wish to protect the offender.

TABLE 2.5

AGE AND SEX OF VIOLENT OFFENDER(S)

AGE OF OFFENDER	SEX OF OFFENDER		
	Females	Males	Females and Males Together in Groups
	Percent	Percent	Percent
17 and under	10	10	20
18 to 24	41	42	40
25 to 39	34	37	28
40 and over	15	10	13
Total	100	100	100

Figures may not add to totals given due to rounding.
Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

TABLE 2.6

AGE OF VICTIM AND SEX OF VIOLENT OFFENDER(S)

AGE OF VICTIM	SEX OF OFFENDER		
	Females	Males	Females and Males Together in Group
	Percent	Percent	Percent
16 to 24	61	52	43
25 to 39	32	35	33
40 to 64	4*	11	19
65 and over	**	1	**
Total	100	100	100

Figures may not add to totals given due to rounding.
* The actual count was low (11 to 20), therefore caution should be exercised when interpreting this percentage.
** The actual count was too low to make statistically reliable population estimates.

Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

TABLE 2.7

RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIM AND SEX OF VIOLENT OFFENDER(S)

RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIM	SEX OF OFFENDER		
	Females	Males	Females and Males Together in Groups
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Stranger	35	69	66
Acquaintance	50	25	34
Relative	15	5	**
Total	100	100	100

Figures may not add to totals given due to rounding.
** The actual count was too low to make statistically reliable population estimates.

Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

TABLE 2.8

VIOLENT OFFENCES REPORTED TO POLICE BY NUMBER AND SEX OF OFFENDER(S)

NUMBER OF OFFENDERS	SEX OF OFFENDER		
	Females	Males	Females and Males Together in Groups
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Single	29	33	
Multiple	47	41	
All	31	35	58

Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

TABLE 2.9

REASONS GIVEN FOR NOT REPORTING PERSONAL VIOLENT OFFENCES BY SEX OF OFFENDER(S)

REASONS FOR NOT REPORTING	SEX OF OFFENDER		
	Females	Males	Females and Males Together in Groups
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Incident too minor or not important enough	57	62	71
Police couldn't do anything about it	48	51	59
Offence was a personal matter	39	28	15*
Wish to protect offender	26	15	**
Nothing was taken	25	30	39

Percentages do not add to 100 as respondents could give multiple reasons for not reporting any one incident.

* The actual count was low (11 to 20), therefore caution should be exercised when interpreting this percentage.

** The actual count was too low to make statistically reliable population estimates.

Source: Ministry of the Solicitor General, Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, 1982, unpublished data.

In many cases, the decision to involve the full weight of the criminal justice system in the resolution of conflict rests with the victim. The findings of the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey suggest that victims of violent acts, to some extent, perceive and respond to incidents on the basis of the gender of offenders. This comes through in patterns of reporting and reasons given by victims for not reporting to the police. Violence involving women was least likely to come to the attention of the police even though it resulted in a higher level of injury. Victims often felt that the incident was a personal matter and wanted to protect the offender from police intervention.

No doubt many "threats" of violence are not well captured by the survey because they were viewed as insufficiently serious to warrant discussion in the context of a "crime survey". This may be especially the case when offenders are women. Perhaps, for example, when females are the aggressors anything less than an actual attack with injury is dismissed or forgotten by victims. The incidence of less serious acts thus may be underrepresented and the level of violence overrepresented relative to the violent behaviour of men. In the absence of comparative data about women's participation in crimes without violence, questions of the relative incidence of other offences and the reporting behaviour of victims must go unanswered. Despite these shortcomings, victimization survey data contribute to our hitherto limited knowledge about violence by women. In the majority of violent incidents described to interviewers, offenders were male. When offenders were female, the violence was generally serious, involved no weapons, occurred within families, was most often directed against other women, was as likely as male violence to involve drugs and alcohol but was less likely to be reported to the police.

III. Sentencing

At present, the biggest gap in our statistical knowledge about the criminal justice process is at the level of the courts. No national program yet exists to collect criminal court statistics. The former Adult Criminal Courts Program administered by Statistics Canada had serious reporting problems and was severely cut back in 1973 and finally terminated in 1980. The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics hopes eventually to be able to produce national data on the number of men and women convicted, offence type, disposition, age and ethnicity of defendants, and sentencing and victim data for domestic violence incidents. This information will greatly enhance the ability of researchers to determine sentencing disparity and the needs of women for services at the court level. More generally, it should inform programs and policies in other areas.

A limited number of tables have been salvaged from the Adult Court Program for comparative purposes only. Because the reliability of the data is questionable, figures should not be taken to be representative of sentencing in Canada. The tables are intended only as tentative indications of differences in sentencing between men and women. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 give convictions and dispositions of charges before a sample[7] of courts in Quebec and British Columbia in 1980. These two tables provide apparently conflicting evidence for the assertion that women receive preferential treatment by the criminal justice system. In

---

7 This partial coverage makes it impossible to generate provincial estimates for either province. Any factors that are influenced by court level (such as offence type) will also be effected. Because the court structures of Quebec and British Columbia are not parallel and the excluded courts are not equivalent, inter-provincial comparisons are not valid.

TABLE 9.1

CHARGES, CONVICTIONS AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF DISPOSITIONS IN QUEBEC ADULT CRIMINAL COURTS(1) BY SEX, 1980

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	Total Charged		Number Convicted				Probation		Fine		Institution to 6 mos.		Institution 6 to 24 mos.		Institution 2 to 5 yr.		Institution 5 yr. to life		Percent Total	
	M	F	M	%	F	%	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Murder	17	-	11	64.7	-	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	100.0	-	100.0	-
Manslaughter	13	1	11	84.6	1	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	9.1	100.0	81.9	0.0	100.0	100.0
Attempt Murder	29	-	14	48.3	-	-	14.3	-	0.0	-	28.6	-	0.0	-	28.6	-	28.6	-	100.0	-
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	505	4	410	81.2	2	50.0	23.4	0.0	9.8	100.0	19.0	0.0	17.1	0.0	8.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	100.0	100.0
Assault(2)	1,779	256	2,325	61.5	171	66.8	31.6	55.6	50.3	35.1	16.9	2.3	1.0	2.3	0.1	2.3	0.1	0.0	100.0	100.0
Robbery	743	8	647	87.1	8	100.0	15.5	0.0	0.6	0.0	26.3	75.0	28.4	0.0	21.3	25.0	7.9	0.0	100.0	100.0
Break and Enter	7,251	111	6,536	90.1	95	84.1	30.4	68.4	1.0	0.0	32.2	16.8	29.8	0.0	6.2	14.7	0.4	0.0	100.0	100.0
Theft(3)	8,865	1,784	7,323	82.6	1,351	88.6	27.7	14.0	40.2	74.6	26.2	11.0	5.4	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.0	100.0	100.0
Fraud(5)	6,080	1,178	4,944	81.3	996	84.6	39.0	74.5	6.2	2.8	34.3	21.5	12.7	1.2	7.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Possession of Stolen Goods	3,329	752	1,267	38.1	107	14.2	47.0	60.7	16.8	26.2	28.1	13.1	5.5	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Driving Offences(4)	46,681	1,548	26,698	57.2	998	64.5	0.8	1.0	89.0	96.6	10.1	4.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Federal Statute Drugs	3,056	270	2,620	85.7	212	78.5	11.6	27.4	60.2	62.3	16.8	10.4	7.6	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.2	0.0	100.0	100.0
Other Criminal Code(6) and Federal Statutes	19,795	1,568	15,216	77.0	1,040	66.3	16.5	19.8	59.2	66.9	19.5	12.5	3.1	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.4	0.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL	100,143	9,482	68,042	67.9	6,981	73.6	15.4	24.5	57.5	62.9	19.0	11.7	5.9	0.4	1.9	0.1	0.2	0.0	100.0	100.0

(1) Excludes the Superior and Sessional Courts in Montreal, St. Jerome, Longueuil and Quebec City, but includes municipal court data received from these cities.
(2) Includes causing bodily harm.
(3) Includes theft over $200.00, theft under $200.00, motor vehicle theft, and other theft.
(4) Includes impaired driving, driving with more than 80 mg of alcohol in blood, failure or refusal to provide breath sample, criminal negligence in the operation of a motor vehicle, dangerous driving, driving while disqualified.
(5) Includes false pretences, forgery, fraudulent transactions.
(6) Includes offensive weapons, gaming and betting, failure to appear, criminal negligence, mischief, breach of probation, other Criminal Code and other federal statutes.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Adult Court Program, 1980, unpublished data.

Quebec courts (Table 3.1) women were convicted at a slightly higher rate (74%) than men tried for the same offences (68%). Women were more likely than men to have been convicted when the offence was assault, robbery, theft, driving offences or fraud. Women were also somewhat more likely than men to receive non-custodial dispositions: 24% of women and 15% of men were placed on probation upon conviction and 63% of women and 57% of men were given fines.

In British Columbia (Table 3.2) the situation is reversed. Women who came before the courts had a lower conviction rate (46%) than men (52%). The only offence for which they were more likely than men to be convicted was break and enter. Women offenders were more likely than men to have been sentenced to a period of probation (46% vs 26%) while a higher proportion of men were given fines (50% vs 38%). Approximately 15% of women and 25% of men in both provinces were sentenced to a period of incarceration.

Until a comprehensive system is in place to gather reliable data from courts with criminal jurisdiction in Canada, sentencing studies will remain speculative. In the meantime, the data provide no clear indication of the treatment of women offenders before the courts. While fewer women than men are sentenced to incarceration, this may be a function of the type and seriousness of the offence, the criminal history of the offender, women's often ancillary role to men in violent crimes, and the fact that violence by women frequently involves intimates. In any case, given the social and economic disadvantage of women, and given the growing numbers of single female parents, one must look at the differential consequences of formal sanctions on men and women. Incarceration, fines and the like will often fall more heavily on women than on men.

TABLE 9.2

CHARGES, CONVICTIONS AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF DISPOSITIONS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA ADULT CRIMINAL COURTS(1) BY SEX, 1980

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	Total Charged		Number Convicted				Probation		Fine		Institution to 6 mos.		Institution 6 to 24 mos.		Institution 2 to 5 yr.		Institution 5 yr. to life		Percent Total	
	M	F	M	%	F	%	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Murder	41	8	15	36.6	2	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Manslaughter	28	-	21	82.1	-	-	8.7	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	13.0	-	26.1	-	52.1	-	100.0	100.0
Attempt Murder	55	9	8	14.5	-	0.0	25.0	-	0.0	-	12.5	-	12.5	-	0.0	-	50.0	-	100.0	100.0
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	403	4	164	40.7	-	0.0	36.0	-	1.7	-	22.6	-	16.5	-	15.2	-	5.5	-	100.0	100.0
Assault(2)	3,053	106	1,460	47.8	115	37.6	32.3	71.3	44.2	12.2	18.5	16.5	4.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Robbery	166	26	196	51.6	-	0.0	11.3	-	1.0	-	15.3	-	31.7	-	26.5	-	10.2	-	100.0	100.0
Break and Enter	3,417	68	1,766	51.7	38	55.9	47.6	28.9	2.2	0.0	27.1	55.3	21.1	15.8	1.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	100.0	100.0
Theft(3)	5,134	1,394	2,940	57.3	696	49.9	33.1	55.7	16.9	35.8	25.1	8.5	3.7	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Fraud(5)	4,066	1,166	2,261	55.7	580	49.7	37.4	60.0	14.7	3.8	19.9	14.8	7.2	1.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Possession of Stolen Goods	2,497	314	888	35.6	69	22.0	16.1	79.7	15.0	10.1	16.7	10.1	11.4	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Driving Offences(4)	28,585	2,350	14,349	50.2	1,136	48.3	21.0	36.5	61.8	61.1	14.8	4.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Federal Statute Drugs	4,950	692	2,960	59.8	230	33.2	9.1	15.7	77.6	64.3	10.9	12.2	1.7	7.8	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	100.0	100.0
Other Criminal Code(6) and Federal Statutes	13,718	1,222	7,705	56.1	645	52.8	26.8	45.9	48.9	32.6	22.6	20.5	1.4	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	1.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL	66,333	7,559	34,737	52.4	3,511	46.4	25.6	45.8	50.1	38.1	20.1	14.8	3.2	0.9	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.2	100.0	100.0

(1) Includes Provincial Courts in Vancouver, North Vancouver, Burnaby, Coquitlam, Delta, Surrey, Richmond and New Westminster but includes the County and Supreme Courts in these cities.
(2) Includes causing bodily harm.
(3) Includes theft over $200.00, theft under $200.00, motor vehicle theft, and other theft.
(4) Includes impaired driving, driving with more than 80 mg of alcohol in blood, failure or refusal to provide breath sample, criminal negligence in the operation of a motor vehicle, dangerous driving, driving while disqualified.
(5) Includes false pretences, forgery, fraudulent transactions.
(6) Includes offensive weapons, gaming and betting, failure to appear, criminal negligence, mischief, breach of probation, other Criminal Code and other federal statutes.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Adult Court Program, 1980, unpublished data.

IV. Admissions to Prison

Individuals sentenced to two years or more are the responsibility of the federal government, while those sentenced to less than two years, or who are remanded in custody, are the responsibility of the government of the province or territory in which they are tried. CCJS collects data from the provincial governments on sentenced and remand admissions to provincial and territorial institutions but does not yet have extensive longitudinal data showing sex breakdowns of offence or offender characteristics. The most recent national survey completed by CCJS gathered some detailed descriptive data on women admitted to provincial institutions.

Roughly 8,000 women were admitted under sentence to provincial institutions during the 1984-85 fiscal year, and approximately 5,000 were admitted on remand[8]. Incomplete national data indicate that three of every ten women admitted under sentence to provincial institutions were admitted for property offences (31%), and the remainder for provincial liquor statutes (13%), impaired driving (10%), violent crimes (9%), other Criminal Code offences (19%), and other provincial statute, federal statute and municipal by-law offences (18%). Four in ten were sentenced to less than 14 days and two-thirds to less than one month. Approximately 40% were incarcerated in default of fine payment. One-third were under the age of 20 and 83% were under 25. One-half had been incarcerated previously (unpublished data).

---

8 Double counting occurs if an individual is admitted more than once during the fiscal year.

The Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies conducted a survey of provincial and territorial institutions in February, 1982 and found that on the survey day, 24% of women were incarcerated for theft, 22% for crimes of violence, 10% for drug offences, and 9% for fraud (Misch, et al., 1982). One-third were serving sentences of less than one month, and an additional one-third were serving sentences of one to six months. One in four were under 20 years of age and 60% were between 21 and 39. The majority were single (61%); 23% were married or living in a common-law relationship. One-half were unemployed, 11% were housewives and the remainder had paid employment.

Correctional Services Canada (CSC) is responsible for all persons sentenced to prison terms of two years or longer. The Offender Information System (OIS), operated by CSC, traces the history of every inmate from the time of admission into federal jurisdiction to warrant expiry date[9]. Table 4.1 shows that the number of women sentenced to federal terms of incarceration fluctuated annually between 80 and 120 over the past decade. The population of women under federal sentence at any one time has increased since 1975 but has remained at about 2% of the total number of inmates (Table 4.2). Over the ten year period 1975 to 1984 men show a dramatic increase in rates of incarceration per 100,000 population while women show virtually no increase at all. Rates were approximately forty times as high for men as for women in 1975 and fifty times as high in 1984 (Table 4.3).

---

9 See Appendix II for a discussion of the Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.1

MALES AND FEMALES ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE(1), 1975-1984

YEAR	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	PERCENT FEMALE
1975	3,923	3,834	89	2.3
1976	3,941	3,820	121	3.1
1977	3,974	3,873	101	2.5
1978	4,175	4,055	120	2.9
1979	3,966	3,846	120	3.0
1980	3,981	3,884	97	2.4
1981	4,317	4,237	80	1.9
1982	4,556	4,455	101	2.2
1983	5,158	5,041	117	2.3
1984	5,362	5,263	99	1.8
TOTAL	43,353	42,308	1,045	2.4
PERCENT INCREASE 1975-1984		+37.3	+11.2	

(1) Excludes re-admissions by straight revocation of parole and mandatory supervision. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.2

POPULATION ON REGISTER UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE(1), 1975-1985

YEAR	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	PERCENT FEMALE
1975	8,659	8,486	173	2.0
1976	9,284	9,084	200	2.2
1977	9,573	9,374	199	2.1
1978	9,708	9,509	199	2.0
1979	9,473	9,242	231	2.4
1980	9,727	9,514	213	2.2
1981	9,798	9,604	194	2.0
1982	10,630	10,423	207	1.9
1983	11,505	11,283	222	1.9
1984	11,941	11,703	238	2.0
1985	12,369	12,134	235	1.9
	RATE OF INCREASE	+43.0	+35.8	

(1) On register as of June 30 each year.
Includes persons on day parole and federal inmates in provincial institutions in accordance with exchange of service agreements.
Excludes persons in temporary detention due to parole or mandatory supervision suspension, and persons on mandatory supervision or full parole.
Administrative policy was changed in 1984 wherein the criminal record of all persons granted a pardon were retroactively deleted from institutional records and the O.I.S. data base pursuant to the Criminal Records Act Sec. 6(2). Discrepancies in population figures from previous years may be attributed to this policy change.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.3

RATES OF INCARCERATION UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE BY SEX, 1975-1984

Rates per 100,000 Male and Female Population

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE
1975	37.4	0.9
1976	38.5	1.2
1977	39.0	1.0
1978	40.1	1.1
1979	38.8	1.1
1980	39.0	0.9
1981	42.7	0.7
1982	45.3	1.0
1983	46.9	1.0
1984	47.0	0.9

Sources:
Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.
Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-901, and Statistics Canada, Demography Division, unpublished updates.

Whereas there are over 40 institutions in Canada with different security levels for men serving sentences of two years or more, the Prison for Women in Kingston, Ontario is the only institution operated by the federal government for women offenders. One of the most critical issues for federal female offenders is the inaccessibility of the Prison for Women to many of the families of inmates and to support services in the communities to which they will eventually return. Exchange of service agreements between the federal and provincial governments allow women under federal sentence to apply to serve their sentences in provincial institutions closer to their homes and families. Although transfer agreements have been in effect since 1973, in 1984 there were 143 women on register in the Prison for Women and 83 in provincial institutions. Most of those in institutions other than the Prison for Women are incarcerated in Quebec and the western provinces. Forty-five women were admitted to the federal correctional system in the Atlantic region between 1980 and 1984, but only 4 remained in a provincial institution (Tables 4.4 and 4.5).

Women in the Prison for Women are incarcerated for relatively the same offences as women who are serving federal sentences in provincial institutions. In 1984, 31 women were incarcerated in the federal institution for murder and 19 for manslaughter, and approximately half this number were in provincial institutions serving federal sentences for the same offences (Table 4.6). An equal number of women incarcerated in federal and provincial institutions were serving sentences for drug related offences.

TABLE 4.4

WOMEN ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE BY REGION OF ADMITTING INSTITUTION(1), 1980-1984

REGION	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1980-1984 TOTALS	
Pacific	21	23	17	15	17	93	16.5
Prairie	27	18	30	32	25	132	23.4
Ontario	27	19	36	39	44	165	29.2
Quebec	30	24	25	33	18	130	23.0
Atlantic	8	8	11	8	10	45	8.0
TOTAL	113	92	119	127	114	565	100.0

(1) Includes admissions to federal institutions, transfers to provincial institutions and re-admissions for mandatory supervision and parole revocation.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.5

WOMEN ON REGISTER UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE IN PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS BY REGION, 1975-1984

REGION	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Pacific	-	-	1	3	10	11	19	16	16	13
Prairie	-	-	-	3	7	17	18	22	19	21
Ontario	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Quebec	1	4	7	12	32	51	45	49	49	49
Atlantic	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-
TOTAL	1	4	8	18	50	82	83	87	84	83

Total on register June 30th each year.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.6

MAJOR OFFENCE OF WOMEN ON REGISTER UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE IN THE PRISON FOR WOMEN AND PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS, 1980-1984

	1980			1981			1982			1983			1984		
	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS
Murder	24	20	4	25	21	4	31	23	8	39	29	10	41	31	10
Manslaughter	26	14	12	31	17	14	23	13	10	31	16	15	35	19	16
Attempt Murder/ Wounding/Assault	9	5	4	10	5	5	16	11	5	12	5	7	14	8	6
Robbery	28	14	14	24	11	13	37	20	17	32	20	12	39	25	14
Break & Enter	10	7	3	8	6	2	7	2	5	12	7	5	10	7	3
Theft	3	2	1	2	-	2	1	-	1	5	2	3	6	4	2
Fraud/Forgery	12	8	4	18	10	8	11	7	4	11	8	3	15	13	2
Narcotic Control Act/ Food and Drug Act	44	13	31	41	20	21	31	10	21	37	13	24	33	17	16
Other Criminal Code and Federal Statutes(1)	18	21	9	29	15	14	19	23	16	34	29	5	33	19	14
	206	124	82	188	105	81	196	109	87	213	129	84	226	143	81

Total number on register June 30 each year.

(1) Include kidnapping and abduction, criminal negligence, offensive weapons, possession of stolen goods, rape and other sexual offences, prison breach, dangerous offender, habitual criminal, dangerous sexual offender, other Criminal Code offences, other federal statute offences.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

The number of women serving sentences of twenty years or greater increased between 1980 and 1984. By 1984, there were 10 women in provincial institutions and 33 in the Prison for Women with twenty year sentences or greater (Table 4.7). This has important implications for both institutional staff and inmates. With only one institution under federal jurisdiction for women and a few spaces reserved in provincial institutions, transfers to facilities with reduced security classification, or to a preferred geographic location are limited.

Tables 4.8 through 4.13 describe men and women admitted to federal jurisdiction over the past ten years. Female federal offenders were slightly older than their male counterparts: 61% of women and 56% of men were over the age of 25 (Table 4.8). Approximately half of men and women gave their marital status upon admission as single (Table 4.9). A slightly higher proportion of men (36%) than women (30%) were married or living in a common-law relationship at the time of admission.

Women were most likely to be admitted for drug offences (28%), break and enter, theft and fraud (17%) and the category of other offences (18%) (Table 4.10). The greatest percentage of men were admitted for break and enter, theft and fraud (31%), robbery (25%) and other offences (16%). Crimes of violence accounted for a greater proportion of male admissions (44%) than female admissions (37%) under federal sentence. However, there were some changes in offences committed by women over this ten year

TABLE 4.7

LENGTH OF AGGREGATE SENTENCE OF WOMEN ON REGISTER UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE IN THE PRISON FOR WOMEN AND PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS, 1980-1984

	1980			1981			1982			1983			1984		
	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS	TOTAL COUNT	PRISON FOR WOMEN	PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS
Less than 2 years	12	6	6	14	7	7	7	1	6	11	8	3	19	13	6
2 to less than 3 years	39	24	15	32	15	17	44	19	25	45	27	18	38	25	13
3 to less than 5 years	54	30	24	48	26	22	55	30	25	48	27	21	68	38	30
5 to less than 10 years	62	37	25	57	30	27	45	25	20	50	25	25	48	27	21
10 to less than 20 years	8	2	6	7	3	4	10	4	6	18	11	7	10	7	3
20 years to life or indefinite	31	25	6	30	24	6	35	26	9	41	31	10	41	31	10
	206	124	82	188	105	81	196	109	87	213	129	84	226	143	83

Total number on register June 30 each year.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.8

AGE OF INMATES ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL(1) SENTENCE BY SEX, 1975-1984

AGE	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975 - 1984 TOTALS			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%	F	%
17 years and under	133	1	96	1	106	-	101	1	83	-	85	2	114	1	95	3	79	2	93	-	985	2.0	11	0.9
18 - 24	1,952	43	1,922	55	2,032	43	2,051	50	1,959	50	1,957	50	2,156	27	2,275	41	2,375	44	2,218	44	20,895	42.3	447	38.1
25 - 29	926	27	1,061	42	1,000	25	1,018	37	1,056	38	1,091	24	1,257	22	1,301	35	1,355	33	1,409	25	11,472	23.2	308	26.2
30 - 39	795	16	891	32	942	34	1,010	33	1,024	28	1,040	25	1,092	23	1,301	26	1,345	27	1,459	35	10,899	22.1	279	23.8
40 - 49	310	6	306	6	317	8	361	6	346	10	331	7	375	15	399	10	456	12	446	7	3,667	7.4	85	7.2
50 - 59	90	4	103	2	99	3	111	4	116	1	109	3	121	3	127	4	141	6	152	1	1,171	2.4	31	2.6
60 and over	21	-	24	1	22	-	35	1	17	1	34	2	38	1	27	-	50	1	46	2	294	0.6	13	1.1
TOTAL	4,227	97	4,403	139	4,518	113	4,687	132	4,581	128	4,647	113	5,153	92	5,525	119	5,779	127	5,843	114	49,363	100.0	1,174	100.0

(1) Includes admissions to federal institutions, transfers to provincial institutions and re-admissions for mandatory supervision and parole revocation.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.9

MARITAL STATUS OF INMATES ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL (1) SENTENCE BY SEX, 1975-1984

MARITAL STATUS	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975 - 1984 TOTALS			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%	F	%
Single	2,213	45	2,256	45	2,377	44	2,412	69	2,187	63	2,448	61	2,840	54	2,997	70	3,077	65	3,210	53	26,217	53.2	569	46.8
Married/Common Law	1,557	30	1,681	58	1,656	36	1,775	33	1,656	37	1,695	27	1,788	30	1,937	30	2,095	35	2,009	40	17,847	36.2	356	30.3
Widowed	54	6	38	3	39	4	42	8	27	4	45	5	37	4	50	1	45	7	51	2	420	0.9	44	3.7
Separated/Divorced	299	15	427	10	441	26	450	21	507	24	443	19	467	22	510	18	344	20	528	18	4,716	9.5	213	18.1
Unknown/Not stated	4	1	4	3	7	3	8	1	4	-	16	1	21	2	11	-	18	-	25	1	163	0.3	12	1.0
TOTAL	4,227	97	4,403	119	4,518	113	4,687	132	4,581	128	4,647	113	5,153	92	5,525	119	5,779	127	5,843	114	49,363	100.0	1,174	100.0

(1) Includes admissions to federal institutions, transfers to provincial institutions and re-admissions for mandatory supervision and parole revocation.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.10

MAJOR OFFENCE OF INMATES ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE(1) BY SEX, 1975-1984

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975-1984 TOTALS			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%	F	%
Murder/Manslaughter	232	10	234	8	271	16	279	15	248	13	248	17	260	11	296	23	326	24	309	17	2,701	6.4	156	14.9
Attempt Murder/ Wounding/Assault	171	6	203	7	201	2	186	9	206	4	189	7	198	9	247	6	296	11	312	6	2,207	5.2	65	6.2
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	231	-	242	2	226	-	272	-	277	-	109	-	101	1	181	1	400	1	416	1	1,855	7.2	6	0.6
Robbery	980	11	958	15	1,000	12	1,102	22	961	19	996	10	1,110	12	1,139	16	1,187	22	1,221	18	10,652	25.1	157	15.0
Break and Enter/ Theft/Fraud	1,328	14	1,215	27	1,208	23	1,199	19	1,158	17	1,118	17	1,289	14	1,117	16	1,585	14	1,731	20	13,168	31.1	181	17.3
Narcotic Control Act/ Food and Drug Act	335	11	458	43	418	11	465	41	416	45	335	25	371	12	316	21	460	25	371	18	3,885	9.2	296	28.1
Other Criminal Code and Federal Statutes(2)	557	15	510	19	529	15	552	14	580	22	671	23	708	19	761	18	889	20	903	19	6,660	15.7	184	17.6
TOTAL	3,834	89	3,820	121	3,871	101	4,055	120	3,846	120	3,884	97	4,217	80	4,055	101	5,041	117	5,263	99	42,108	100.0	1,045	100.0

(1) Excludes re-admissions by straight revocation of parole and mandatory supervision. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.

(2) Includes infanticide, kidnapping and abduction, criminal negligence, offensive weapons, possession of stolen goods, prison breach, dangerous offenders, habitual criminals, other Criminal Code, and other federal statute offences.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services of Canada, Offender Information System.

period: admissions for crimes of violence increased from 30% of the total in 1975 to 42% in 1984. Marked decline is shown in the number of women admitted for violations of federal drug statutes, from 37% in 1975 to 18% in 1984.

Overall, men and women do not show marked differences in aggregate sentence length. Equal proportions of men and women (63%) were admitted to federal periods of incarceration with sentences of two to five years (Table 4.11). Over this period, however, the proportion of women admitted with sentences of two to five years dropped from two-thirds of the total to just over one-half. Sentences of twenty years to life increased from 5% to 14%. Women were given longer sentences than men for drug related offences and the category of other Criminal Code and federal statute offences (Table 4.12). Men were admitted with longer sentences for crimes of violence.

Criminal history may help to explain the greater number of men sentenced to federal terms of incarceration and the changing pattern of women's sentences. One-quarter of women and almost one-half of men admitted to the federal penitentiary system between 1975 and 1984 had previous committals to the federal system (Table 4.13). Both men and women showed higher rates of recidivism within the federal correctional system in 1984 than in 1975.

TABLE 4.11

LENGTH OF AGGREGATE SENTENCE OF INMATES ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE[1] BY SEX, 1975-1984

LENGTH OF AGGREGATE SENTENCE	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975 - 1984 TOTALS			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%	F	%
Less than 2 years[2]	472	5	495	16	484	12	433	4	510	12	577	8	503	8	460	12	749	7	710	13	5,393	12.7	97	9.3
2 to less than 3 years	1,315	30	1,212	40	1,267	22	1,335	38	1,259	28	1,238	32	1,374	20	1,471	35	1,541	34	1,723	21	13,735	32.5	300	28.7
5 to less than 5 years	1,097	26	1,129	44	1,159	46	1,271	49	1,158	36	1,149	34	1,303	28	1,191	24	1,539	37	1,611	33	12,807	30.3	357	34.2
5 to less than 10 years	620	19	622	16	622	12	635	17	592	31	631	18	686	14	715	19	781	25	832	17	6,736	15.9	188	18.0
10 to less than 20 years	172	4	174	2	145	2	166	4	135	3	127	0	198	4	187	4	186	1	177	1	1,667	3.9	27	2.6
20 years to life or indefinite	158	5	188	3	196	7	215	8	192	10	162	5	173	6	231	7	241	11	210	14	1,968	4.7	76	7.3
TOTAL	3,834	89	3,820	121	3,873	101	4,055	120	3,846	120	3,884	97	4,237	80	4,455	101	5,041	117	5,263	99	42,308	100.0	1,045	100.0

(1) Excludes re-admissions by straight revocation of parole and mandatory supervision. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.
(2) Federal sentences of less than 2 years reflect a sentence administration practice wherein a sentence is recalculated due to day parole revocation or being unlawfully at large.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System

TABLE 4.12

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATE SENTENCE LENGTH OF INMATES ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE[1] BY MAJOR OFFENCE AND SEX, 1975-1984 COMBINED

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	Total Admissions 1975-1984		Less than 2 Years		2 to Less Than 3 Years		3 to Less Than 5 Years		5 to Less Than 10 Years		10 to Less Than 20 Years		20 Years to Life[3]		1975-1984 Totals	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Murder/Manslaughter	2,701	156	0.6	1.9	3.7	7.1	15.1	29.5	22.3	26.3	10.5	3.8	47.8	31.4	100.0	100.0
Attempt Murder/Wounding/ Assault	2,207	65	15.9	20.0	10.9	10.8	26.4	10.8	17.5	16.9	6.5	0.0	2.9	1.5	100.0	100.0
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	3,055	6	3.0	0.0	21.4	0.0	40.6	83.3	25.7	16.7	6.6	0.0	2.6	0.0	100.0	100.0
Robbery	10,632	157	4.6	4.5	26.0	45.2	19.1	19.5	24.1	9.6	5.6	1.3	0.6	0.0	100.0	100.0
Break and Enter/Theft/ Fraud	13,168	181	20.8	25.4	47.9	45.9	25.6	26.0	5.3	2.8	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	100.0	100.0
Narcotic Control Act/Food and Drug Act	1,885	296	5.7	2.0	28.7	19.3	16.4	45.3	23.2	29.7	5.0	1.4	1.0	0.3	100.0	100.0
Other Criminal Code and Federal Statute Offences[2]	6,660	186	22.4	12.0	31.8	31.5	24.6	23.4	12.0	18.7	3.0	4.9	6.2	13.6	100.0	100.0
TOTAL	42,308	1,045	12.7	9.3	32.5	28.7	10.3	34.2	15.9	18.0	1.9	2.6	4.7	7.3		

(1) Excludes re-admissions by straight revocation of parole and mandatory supervision. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.
(2) Includes infanticide, kidnapping and abduction, criminal negligence, offensive weapons, possession of stolen goods, prison breach, dangerous offenders, habitual criminals, other Criminal Code and federal statute offences.
(3) Includes life, death commuted and preventive detention.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services of Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 4.13

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS FEDERAL COMMITTALS OF INMATES ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL[1] SENTENCE BY SEX, 1975-1984

PREVIOUS COMMITTALS	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975 - 1984 TOTALS			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	%	F	%
No Previous	2,509	77	2,461	96	2,589	83	2,710	102	2,416	105	2,418	75	2,797	61	2,992	85	3,152	101	3,191	74	27,235	55.2	859	73.2
1 Previous	998	13	1,009	28	936	17	968	19	1,080	18	1,076	26	1,145	21	1,181	20	1,253	17	1,220	21	10,866	22.0	200	17.0
2 Previous	522	5	585	10	516	5	514	8	549	3	568	6	559	7	669	9	635	7	670	14	5,787	11.7	74	6.3
3 Previous	155	1	241	2	296	2	261	2	293	-	295	4	324	2	322	4	332	2	339	5	2,858	5.8	24	2.0
4 Previous	34	1	80	2	118	1	135	1	143	1	159	-	153	1	174	-	195	-	198	-	1,387	2.8	7	0.6
5 - 10 Previous	9	-	27	1	63	5	99	-	100	1	130	2	173	-	185	1	209	-	217	-	1,212	2.5	10	0.9
More than 11 Previous	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	2	-	5	-	8	-	18	.04	-	0.0
TOTAL	4,227	97	4,403	139	4,518	113	4,687	132	4,581	128	4,647	113	5,153	92	5,525	119	5,779	127	5,843	114	49,363	100.0	1,174	100.0

(1) Includes admissions to federal institutions, transfers to provincial institutions and re-admissions for mandatory supervision and parole revocation.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

A study of parole release prepared for the Secretariat of the Ministry of the Solicitor General states that female federal inmates who were eligible for parole between 1980 and 1983 had a 50% greater likelihood of being released on full parole than did male inmates (47% vs 30%) (Hann and Harman, 1986a, p.5-2). For inmates serving their first penitentiary term, the parole release rate was 64% for women and 47% for men. Release rates were higher for women than for men in all offence categories except robbery and break and enter. Admissions for drug offences showed the highest parole rates for both women (74%) and men (64%). The greater likelihood for women to be released on parole may be explained in part by the fact women tend to be admitted for those offences which generally have higher parole release rates (Hann and Harman, 1986a, p.5-7). The greater likelihood of parole for women is also consistent with their lower release risk, as evidenced by their higher success rates on parole (79% vs 65%) (Hann and Harman, 1986b, p.4-2).

The increased number of women who are serving sentences of twenty years or more presents particular housing and programming demands on institutions holding women. Long periods of incarceration may be more difficult for women than for men because of the geographic separation from support outside the institution and because of the difficulities in accomodating the needs of the relatively small number of women incarcerated in any one location.

V. Native Women

Native people in Canada are overrepresented among offenders in the criminal justice system in relation to their numbers in the general population. And the presence of native women is even more disproportionate than that of native men. Although natives (status and non-status Indians, Metis and Inuit) make up only about 2% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, Canada's Native People, 1984)[10], they account for up to 93% of women and 85% of men admitted to provincial and territorial institutions, and 14% of women and 9% of men serving federal sentences.

That native people, and native women in particular, live in deprived conditions relative to non-native Canadians is well documented. The 1981 census shows that single parent families are twice as common among natives (17%) than among non-natives (9%), and that large families (5 or more children) are five times as common. Natives are twice as likely (41%) as non-native people (22%) to have less than a high school education. In 1981, 25% of native women in rural areas and 42% of native women in urban areas were employed, as compared to 40% and 50% of non-native women. In 1980, 32% of native women had no income, compared to 23% of non-native women and 7% of non-native men. This reflects low education and the substantially lower rate of full-time, full-year employment among native people. Native people seeking employment in cities are faced with having to cope

---

10 These figures are based on the 1981 census and must be considered estimates only due to the inclusion of 5,000 persons of Indo Pakistani origin, the exclusion of approximately 5,200 native people in institutions, and non-response from several reserves. The census reported a total native population count of 491,460 including 292,700 status Indians, 75,110 non-status Indians, 98,260 metis and 25,390 Inuit. Ethnic origin is self-identified.

in an urban environment, often without urban skills or cultural support systems. More generally, native people have witnessed the breakdown of traditional culture and the erosion of traditional economies. The situation is aggravated for many native women who, until 1985, were deprived of legal status and denied Indian rights and benefits. Native women are among the most severely disadvantaged groups in Canada and at great risk of coming into contact with the criminal justice system (LaPrairie, 1984, p.167).

Since the Uniform Crime Report Program does not differentiate between native and non-native people, the most basic information about charges, sentencing and recidivism of native people is unavailable from official crime statistics. A limited body of research on native people and crime can help to address some of these issues. A study of charges by the Winnipeg City Police in 1969 found that while natives comprised approximately 3% of the urban Winnipeg population, they accounted for 27% of all charges against men and 70% of all charges against women (Bienvenue and Latif, 1974, p.107). Natives were overrepresented in all categories of offences except for violations of narcotic and traffic offences. Native women were twice as likely as native men to be charged with violent offences. This stands in sharp contrast to the distribution of charges against men and women in the general population.

The Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, in their 1982 survey of provincial and territorial institutions, reports that 25% of female inmates on the survey day were native. The highest percentages were in institutions in the Yukon Territory (100%) where natives comprise 18% of the total population, Saskatchewan (77%) with 6% natives, the Northwest Territories (75%) with 58% natives, and Manitoba (71%) also with 6% natives (Misch, et al., 1982). Native women were more than twice as likely as non-native women to have been incarcerated for a violent offence.

Less than half the population in the District of Kenora in northern Ontario is native; however, natives account for 97% of female admissions and 78% of male admissions annually to the Kenora District Jail (Jolly and Seymour, 1983). In a survey over a one month period in 1981, 99% of inmates were of native ancestry and all had been convicted of at least one liquor offence. Close to 80% of fine defaulters and virtually all sentenced inmates had a previous conviction for a liquor offence, and the same proportions had previously served time in default of fine payment.

A study to determine the problems faced by native persons incarcerated in Ontario correctional institutions confirmed that alcohol abuse, unemployment and poor living conditions are crucial to understanding conflict between native people and the law (Birkenmayer and Jolly, 1981, p.vi). The unemployment rate of the incarcerated women was over eight times the national average and if they did have

paid employment it was almost always temporary. Many were dependent on some form of social assistance. Proportionately twice as many women as men were jailed for liquor related offences, and over three times as many women admitted to sniffing a solvent at the time of the offence. Women were also more likely than men to be incarcerated for default of fine payment. Although over half of the women were single, most had dependent children. The study reports that native inmates are seriously isolated from their culture and their families, and that distance from their communities, the expense of travelling to institutions and a breakdown in family relationships contribute to this isolation (Birkenmayer and Jolly, 1981, p.23).

A report by the Government of the Northwest Territories shows that native women accounted for 93% of females admitted to local institutions in 1983, even though natives comprise only 58% of the general territorial population (Female Offender Study, 1985). One-half of incarcerated women were under 21 years of age. While only one in five were married at the time of incarceration, one in three had at least one dependant. Two-thirds had elementary school education and 2% had completed high school.

A survey of 33 native women in Ontario jails and correctional centres by the Ontario Native Women's Association describes the "typical" native female inmate (Dubec, 1982). She is under 25 years of age with less than a high school education. She resides on a reserve where there are poor social conditions and economic opportunities. She has two or more children. She is dependent upon social

assistance and has never been enrolled in any type of job training program. She is unemployed with no previous employment history. This typical inmate is presently serving time for liquor related offences and non-payment of fines. She is addicted to the use of alcohol and was under the influence of alcohol at the time of the offence. She was eighteen years of age or younger at her first arrest and has been sentenced to jail as many as three times. Forty percent had been arrested fifteen times or more and 21% had been sentenced to jail seventeen times or more.

The homicide statistics gathered by CCJS and the Offender Information System (OIS) of Correctional Services Canada collect detailed data on native people and yield some important findings.[11]

The CCJS homicide data show that 34% of women charged with homicide offences between 1975 and 1983 were identified as native, clearly disproportionate to their numbers in the general population. Native and non-native female homicide suspects were equally likely to be married or to be living in a common-law relationship at the time of the offence (60%) (Table 5.1). Native female suspects were less likely (54%) than the non-natives (69%) to have had a domestic relationship with the victim (Table 5.2). Two-thirds of native suspects and one-half of non-natives were under thirty years of age at the time of the offence (Table 5.3).

---

[11] Racial origin is officer-observed in homicide statistics and self-reported in federal admissions statistics. Because few guidelines are provided in recording racial origin, we can reasonably assume that the numbers identified as native are underestimated.

TABLE 5.9

MARITAL STATUS(1) OF FEMALE HOMICIDE SUSPECTS BY ETHNICITY(2), 1975-1985

STATUS	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1975-1985 Totals			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
Single	4	6	4	8	7	6	7	12	10	8	9	11	10	21	8	7	9	16	68	28.6	95	21.9
Marr.ed/ Common-Law	20	35	17	31	16	29	17	36	14	29	9	18	11	33	19	32	13	30	136	60.7	261	60.3
Widowed	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	4	1.8	5	1.2
Separated/ Divorced	3	6	5	4	-	8	-	11	-	6	5	6	2	6	1	14	4	2	18	8.0	65	15.0
Not Stated	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	2	0.9	7	1.6
TOTAL	27	47	27	44	24	45	24	59	24	43	20	37	23	61	28	44	27	51	226	100.0	433	100.0

(1) Marital status at time of offence.
(2) Excludes those females whose ethnicity was not stated (5.7%).
Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Program (Homicide Project), 1985, unpublished data.

TABLE 5.2

RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIM OF FEMALE HOMICIDE[1] SUSPECTS BY ETHNICITY[2], 1975-1985

RELATIONSHIP	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1975 - 1985 totals			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
Domestic[3]	14	35	15	35	18	32	15	40	11	33	6	25	11	37	15	28	15	33	120	53.6	298	68.8
Non-Domestic (Other)[4]	12	10	12	7	5	10	5	8	8	9	10	11	9	19	12	12	7	12	80	35.7	98	22.6
Non-Domestic (Criminal)[5]	1	2	-	2	1	3	4	11	5	1	4	1	3	7	1	4	5	6	24	10.7	37	8.5
Total	27	47	27	44	24	45	24	59	24	43	20	37	23	63	28	44	27	51	224	100.0	433	100.0

(1) Includes murder, manslaughter and infanticide.
(2) Excludes those females whose ethnicity was not stated (5.7%).
(3) Includes immediate family, extended family, step relative, in-law relations, foster relations, and common law relations.
(4) Includes social and business relationships, close friends, casual acquaintances and those which police are not able to establish a relationship (i.e. stranger).
(5) Includes homicide committed during the commission of a criminal act and where the relationship is other than domestic.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Program (Homicide Project), 1985, unpublished data.

TABLE 5.3

AGE(1) OF FEMALE HOMICIDE SUSPECTS BY ETHNICITY(2), 1975-1989

AGE	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1975 - 1983 TOTALS			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
16-19 years	2	4	1	5	3	2	3	5	7	5	1	6	4	12	9	1	5	6	37	16.5	49	11.3
20-29 years	11	16	18	14	17	19	11	10	9	10	9	10	14	25	10	17	14	26	113	51.3	167	38.6
30-39 years	9	8	5	14	2	11	5	17	4	18	3	12	1	14	8	12	3	8	44	19.6	114	26.3
40-49 years	4	10	3	6	1	6	2	5	6	5	3	2	2	8	1	6	2	7	24	9.8	55	12.7
50-59 years	1	9	-	2	-	4	1	1	-	5	2	6	-	1	-	4	1	1	5	2.2	37	8.5
60 years and over	-	-	-	5	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	0.4	11	2.5
Not known	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0	-	0.0
Total	27	47	27	46	24	44(3)	26	59	26	61	20	37	21	61	28	66	27	51	224	100.0	432	100.0

(1) Prior to 1985 the age limit for adults was 17 in Newfoundland and British Columbia, 18 in Manitoba and Quebec and 16 in all other provinces.
(2) Includes those females whose ethnicity was not stated (5.7%).
(3) Includes one adult non-native female whose age was not stated.

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Program (Homicide Project) 1985, unpublished data.

Although native people admitted to the federal correctional system comprise a small unrepresentative fraction of native offenders, this is where the most detailed offender data lie. Tables 5.4 through 5.12 compare native and non-native female federal admissions over a ten year period. The number of native women admitted under federal sentence between 1975 and 1984 fluctuated annually from a low of 11 to a high of 28. Women identified as native accounted for approximately 16% of all women admitted. Native inmates were younger than non-natives, and only slightly more likely to be living in a common-law relationship or to be married (Tables 5.4 and 5.5). Crimes of violence accounted for more than twice the proportion of native (68%) as non-native admissions (31%) under federal sentence (Table 5.6). Native women were three times as likely to be admitted for murder or manslaughter (34% vs 11%), and four times as likely to be admitted for attempted murder, wounding and assault (17% vs 4%). Non-native women, on the other hand, were eight times as likely to be admitted under federal sentence for drug offences (33% vs 4%). While the actual numbers of native women are low, their proportions in any one category relative to the general population are indicative of social conditions that extend beyond the scope of the criminal justice system.

Despite the higher proportion of natives admitted for crimes of violence, non-native women generally received longer sentences (Table 5.7). This can be traced to the greater number of non-native women receiving five to ten year sentences for drug offences, and life sentences for homicide offences (Table 5.8). Native women received longer sentences for the category of other offences.

TABLE 5.4

AGE OF WOMEN ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL(1) SENTENCE BY ETHNICITY, 1975-1984

AGE	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975-1984 TOTALS			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
Under 17	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	7	3.6	4	0.4
18 to 24	6	37	7	48	10	55	6	44	11	39	10	40	6	23	9	32	8	36	9	35	80	41.7	367	37.4
25 to 29	2	25	8	34	4	21	6	31	9	29	6	18	6	16	4	31	7	26	1	24	53	27.6	255	26.0
30 to 39	2	14	1	31	5	29	6	27	2	26	3	22	3	20	4	22	7	20	6	29	19	20.3	240	24.4
40 to 49	-	6	-	6	-	8	1	5	2	8	2	5	3	10	-	10	1	9	1	6	12	6.3	73	7.4
50 to 59	-	4	-	2	-	3	-	4	-	1	-	3	-	3	-	4	1	5	-	1	1	0.5	30	3.1
60 and over	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	0.0	11	1.1
TOTAL	11	86	17	122	19	96	19	113	24	108	22	91	16	76	19	100	28	99	17	97	192	100.0	982	100.0

(1) Includes admissions to federal institutions, transfers to provincial institutions and re-admissions for mandatory supervision and parole revocation.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 5.5

MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL[1] SENTENCE BY ETHNICITY, 1975-1984

MARITAL STATUS	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975-1984 TOTALS			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
Single	6	19	4	41	11	33	8	61	10	53	13	48	3	51	13	57	11	54	11	42	90	46.9	459	46.7
Married/Common-Law	4	26	10	48	6	30	5	28	10	27	5	22	8	22	4	26	10	25	3	17	65	33.9	291	29.6
Widowed	-	6	-	3	-	4	2	6	-	4	1	4	1	5	-	1	2	5	1	1	7	3.6	39	3.8
Separated/Divorced	1	14	3	27	2	24	4	17	3	20	3	16	4	18	2	16	5	15	2	16	18	15.6	181	18.4
Not Stated	-	1	-	3	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	0.0	12	1.2
TOTAL	11	86	17	122	19	94	19	111	24	104	22	91	16	76	19	100	28	99	17	97	192	100.0	982	100.0

[1] Includes admissions to federal institutions, transfers to provincial institutions and re-admissions for mandatory supervision and parole revocation.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 5.6

MAJOR OFFENCE OF WOMEN ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE([1]) BY ETHNICITY 1975-1980

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975 - 1984 TOTALS			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
Murder/Manslaughter	3	7	2	6	4	12	6	9	5	8	9	8	5	8	11	12	7	17	4	13	56	34.4	100	11.3
Attempt Murder/ Wounding/Assault	4	2	4	3	2	-	5	4	1	1	1	6	3	5	-	4	4	7	2	4	28	17.2	37	4.2
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	6	0.7
Robbery	-	11	2	13	3	9	1	21	4	15	2	8	1	11	2	14	6	16	6	12	27	16.6	130	14.7
Break and Enter/ Theft/Fraud	2	12	1	26	4	19	-	19	7	10	1	16	1	13	1	15	3	11	2	18	22	13.5	159	18.0
Narcotic Control Act/ Food and Drug Act	-	33	2	41	-	33	2	39	2	49	-	23	-	12	1	22	-	25	-	10	7	4.3	289	32.8
Other Criminal Code and Federal Statutes([2])	-	15	2	17	4	11	5	9	2	20	2	21	4	15	1	17	3	17	1	19	23	14.1	161	18.3
TOTAL	9	80	13	108	17	84	19	101	21	97	15	82	14	66	16	85	23	94	14	77	163	100.0	882	100.0

([1]) Excludes re-admissions by straight revocation of parole and mandatory supervision. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.

([2]) Includes infanticide, kidnapping and abduction, criminal negligence, offensive weapons, possession of stolen goods, prison breach, dangerous offenders, habitual criminals, other Criminal Code, and other federal statute offences.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services of Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 5.7

LENGTH OF AGGREGATE SENTENCE[1], OF WOMEN ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE BY ETHNICITY, 1975-1984

LENGTH OF AGGREGATE SENTENCE	1975		1976		1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1975 - 1984 TOTALS			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
Less than 2 years[2]	-	5	4	12	5	7	1	1	8	4	-	8	5	3	2	10	4	3	2	11	35	20.2	64	7.3
2 to less than 3 years	6	24	4	16	4	18	2	36	4	24	3	29	-	20	5	30	6	28	4	17	38	23.3	262	29.7
3 to less than 5 years	2	24	4	40	5	41	8	41	5	31	9	25	5	23	5	19	10	27	7	26	60	16.8	297	33.7
5 to less than 10 years	-	19	1	15	3	9	1	16	1	10	3	15	2	12	3	16	2	23	1	16	17	10.4	171	19.4
10 to less than 20 years	-	6	-	2	-	2	1	3	2	1	-	-	-	4	1	3	-	3	-	1	4	2.5	23	2.6
20 years to life or indefinite	1	4	-	3	-	7	4	4	3	7	-	5	2	4	-	7	1	10	-	14	11	6.7	65	7.4
TOTAL	9	80	13	108	17	84	19	101	23	97	15	82	14	66	16	85	23	74	14	85	165	100.0	882	100.0

(1) Excludes re-admissions by straight revocation of parole and mandatory supervision. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.
(2) Federal sentences of less than 2 years reflect a sentence administration practice wherein a sentence is recalculated due to day parole revocation or being unlawfully at large.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 5.8

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATE SENTENCE(1) OF WOMEN ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL SENTENCE BY MAJOR OFFENCE AND ETHNICITY, 1975-1984 COMBINED

OFFENCE CATEGORIES	Total Admissions 1975-1984		Less than 2 Years		2 to Less Than 3 Years		3 to Less Than 5 Years		5 to Less Than 10 Years		10 to Less Than 20 Years		20 Years to Life(3)		1975-1984 Totals	
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native
Murder/Manslaughter	56	100	5.4	0.0	12.5	4.0	48.2	19.0	17.9	31.0	5.4	3.0	10.7	43.0	100.0	100.0
Attempt Murder/Wounding/ Assault	28	37	28.6	13.5	35.7	27.0	32.1	29.7	3.6	27.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	100.0	100.0
Rape/Other Sexual Offences	-	6	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	83.3	-	16.7	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	100.0
Robbery	27	130	22.2	0.8	25.9	49.2	48.1	37.7	0.0	11.5	3.7	0.8	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Break and Enter/Theft/ Fraud	22	159	45.5	22.6	40.9	46.5	13.6	27.7	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Narcotic Control Act/Food and Drug Act	7	289	0.0	2.1	14.3	19.4	[illegible]	45.0	28.6	29.8	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.3	100.0	100.0
Other Criminal Code and Federal Statutes(2)	23	161	26.1	9.9	17.4	33.5	17.4	24.2	17.4	14.3	0.0	5.6	21.7	12.4	100.0	100.0
TOTAL	163	882	20.2	7.3	23.3	29.7	36.8	33.7	10.4	19.4	2.5	2.6	6.7	7.6		

(1) Excludes re-admissions by straight revocation of parole and mandatory supervision. Includes admissions to federal institutions and transfers to provincial institutions.
(2) Includes infanticide, kidnapping and abduction, criminal negligence, offensive weapons, possession of stolen goods, prison breach, dangerous offenders, habitual criminals, other Criminal Code and federal statute offences.
(3) Includes life, death cumuted and preventive detention.
Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services of Canada, Offender Information System.

The isolation from family and community resulting from incarceration is particularly marked for native women. Three-quarters of native women admitted under federal sentence between 1980 and 1984 were from the pacific and prairie regions (Table 5.9); yet in 1984, 70% of native women under federal jurisdiction were incarcerated in the Prison for Women in Ontario, great distances from where they were admitted and presumably from where they will eventually return (Table 5.10). This may pose particular problems for release planning and success on parole.

The overall rate of release on parole from penitentiary for natives is one-third that for non-natives (Hann and Harman, 1986a, p.5-15), and success rates on parole are lower (56% vs 66%) (Hann and Harman, 1986b, p.4-4). Native women had a higher rate of recidivism within the federal correctional system (Table 5.11).

More data are needed. Nevertheless, the broad outlines of the situation for native people are apparent. For native women especially, we have evidence of a "revolving door syndrome" of admissions to jail for liquor related offences and the inability to pay court-ordered fines. High levels of alcoholism no doubt contribute to the relatively high incidence of violent crime by native women. Isolation during incarceration and lack of support upon release increase the likelihood of recidivism. Further study of the influence of socio-economic and cultural factors and of the interaction between native women and the criminal justice system is necessary. Crucial interaction variables for study include visibility to the police, differential treatment by justice officials, poor awareness and representation in criminal justice proceedings, and racial stereotyping.

TABLE 5.9

REGION OF ADMISSION OF WOMEN ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL(1) SENTENCE BY ETHNICITY, 1980-1984

REGION	1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1980-1984 Totals			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
Pacific	4	17	3	20	4	13	5	10	2	15	18	17.6	75	16.2
Prairie	12	15	8	10	10	20	18	14	11	14	59	57.8	73	15.8
Ontario	4	23	1	18	3	33	4	35	4	40	16	15.7	149	32.2
Quebec	2	28	1	23	1	24	-	33	-	18	4	3.9	126	27.2
Atlantic	-	8	3	5	1	10	1	7	-	10	5	4.9	40	8.6
TOTAL	22	91	16	76	19	100	28	99	17	97	102	100.0	463	100.0

(1) Includes admissions to federal institutions, transfers to provincial institutions and re-admissions for mandatory supervision and parole revocation.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.

TABLE 5.10

ETHNICITY OF WOMEN SERVING FEDERAL SENTENCES IN THE PRISON FOR WOMEN AND PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS, 1980-1984

Year		Ethnicity			
		Caucasian	Native	Other/ Not Stated	Total
1980	Number	152	31	23	206
Prison for Women	%	56.6	67.7	73.9	60.2
Provincial Institutions	%	43.4	32.3	26.1	39.8
1981	Number	144	31	13	188
Prison for Women	%	53.5	61.3	69.2	55.9
Provincial Institutions	%	46.5	38.7	30.8	44.1
1982	Number	159	27	10	196
Prison for Women	%	54.7	63.0	50.0	55.6
Provincial Institutions	%	45.3	37.0	50.0	44.4
1983	Number	162	40	11	213
Prison for Women	%	61.7	60.0	45.5	60.6
Provincial Institutions	%	38.3	40.0	54.5	39.4
1984	Number	172	40	14	226
Prison for Women	%	61.0	70.0	71.4	63.3
Provincial Institutions	%	39.0	30.0	28.6	36.7

Total number on register June 30 each year.

Source: Solicitor General, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System

TABLE 5.11

NUMBER OF PREVIOUS FEDERAL COMMITTALS OF WOMEN ADMITTED UNDER FEDERAL(1) SENTENCE BY PROVINCE, 1979-1984

PREVIOUS COMMITTALS	1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1979-1984 TOTALS			
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	%	Non-Native	%
No Previous	8	69	10	86	14	69	15	87	17	89	11	64	6	55	13	72	19	82	10	60	123	64.1	736	74.9
1 Previous	1	10	5	21	6	11	2	17	5	15	7	19	7	10	6	14	6	11	6	17	43	23.4	199	20.3
2 Previous	-	5	2	8	-	5	2	6	2	1	2	6	2	5	1	8	4	5	1	11	14	7.6	56	5.7
3 Previous	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	2	-	-	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	5	6	3.1	18	1.8
4 Previous	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	1		1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0	7	0.7
5 - 10 Previous	-	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-		-	0.0	10	1.0
More than 10 Previous	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0	-	0.0
TOTAL	11	86	17	122	19	96	19	113	24	106	22	93	16	76	19	101	28	99	17	97	192	100.0	982	100.0

(1) Includes admissions to federal institutions, transfers to provincial institutions and re-admissions for mandatory supervision and parole revocations.

Source: Solicitor General Canada, Correctional Services Canada, Offender Information System.*

Selected Readings

Interest in and concern about women offenders is a relatively new phenomenon and carries with it a small but developing body of research. From this compendium of criminal justice and demographic statistics emerges a profile of women offenders, some of their social and economic characteristics, and an indication of where the gaps in knowledge lie. The following are suggested for further reading:

Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, Women in Conflict with the Law: A Forgotten Minority. Ottawa: CAEFS, 1985.

Chapman, J.R., Economic Realities and the Female Offender. Toronto: Lexington Books, 1980.

Datesman, S.K. and F.R. Scarpitti (eds.), Women, Crime and Justice. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Gavigan, S., "Women's Crime and Feminist Critiques: A Review of the Literature", Canadian Criminology Forum. 6(1983):75-90.

Gora, J.G., The New Female Criminal: Empirical Reality or Social Myth? New York: Praeger, 1982.

Hartman, D.M., G.K. Muirhead, A.D. Kirkaldy and A.G. Law, Native Indians in the British Columbia Correctional System. Ministry of the Attorney General, British Columbia, 1975.

Havemann, P., L. Foster, K. Couse and R. Matonovich, Law and Order for Canada's Indigenous People. Prepared for the Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1984.

Hoffman-Bustamante, D., "The Nature of Female Criminality", Issues in Criminology. 8(1973):117-136.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian Conditions: A Survey. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1980.

Jayewardene, C.H.S. and P.E. McWatt, "The Police and the Female Delinquent", Canadian Police College Journal. 3(1984):203-217.

Jolly, S., "Natives in Conflict with the Law", Correctional Options. 2(1982):83-96.

Klein, D. and J. Kress, "Any Woman's Blues: A Critical Overview of Women, Crime and the Criminal Justice System", Crime and Social Justice. 5(1976):34-49.

La Prairie, C., "Native Women and Crime", Perceptions. 7(1984):25-27.

Leonard, E.B., Women, Crime and Society: A Critique of Theoretical Criminology. New York: Longman Inc., 1982.

Mukherjee, S.K., In Search of Female Criminality: Are Women Bad Enough Yet? Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology Press, 1978.

Rafter, N.H. and E.A. Stanks (eds.), Judge, Lawyer, Victim, Thief: Women, Gender Roles and Criminal Justice. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982.

Ross, R.R. and E. Fabiano, Conditional After Thoughts: Programs for Female Offenders. Prepared for the Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1985.

Schlossman, S. and S. Wallach, "The Crimes of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency and the Progressive Era", Harvard Educational Review. 48 (1978):65-83.

Shur, E., Labeling Women Deviant: Gender, Stigma and Social Control. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983.

Smart, C., Women, Crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

Wolfgang, M.E., "Uniform Crime Reports: A Critical Appraisal", University of Pennsylvania Law Review. 3(1963):728-739.

Verdun-Jones, S.N. and G.K. Muirhead, "Natives in the Canadian Criminal Justice System: An Overview", Crime and/et Justice. 7/8(1979-80):3-21.

Appendix I - Uniform Crime Report Program

The Uniform Crime Report Program (UCR) was introduced in Canada in 1962 to improve the quality of information on crime and traffic enforcement activity. It was designed as an indicator of criminal incidents that become known to the police which are then recorded by the most serious offence that occurred at the time. It does not reflect actual offences. The scoring rules differ by crime type such that one incident is counted for each victim in violent crimes, and each incident is counted once regardless of the number of victims involved in incidents wherein the most serious offence is a property crime. These data adequately reflect the reporting of crime and the level of police recording or workload, but they are not an accurate measure of criminal activity per se.

Any number of persons may be charged in one incident. Complications arise when the charge(s) eventually laid differ from the offence originally recorded. For example, police investigating an altercation in a public tavern may initially record the incident as attempted murder but later lay a charge of assault causing bodily harm. Persons charged (and their gender) will be noted against the original offence (attempted murder), regardless of the nature of the charge.

UCR data will also be directly effected by local police enforcement practices and priorities and the way in which police report and record crimes that become known to them.[1] Although little is known empirically about the

---

[1] See P. Mayhew and L.J.F. Smith, "Crime in England and Wales and Scotland: A British Crime Survey Comparison", British Journal of Criminology (1985) 25:148-159 for a discussion of police classification, definition and counting practices.

diversionary process or the decision of police not to proceed with criminal charges, it has been argued that officials (usually male) give preferential treatment to women who come into conflict with the law, and alternatively, that women are treated more severely because of their need for protection and ability to benefit from longer sentences. Studies show that male and female juvenile delinquents have been treated differently, and that many girls have been charged with offences that would not have resulted in charges against adults or boys (Landau, 1975).[2] Fluctuations in the number of women offenders recorded in police statistics, and in the gaps between offences known to the police and the percentage cleared by charge, may be the direct result of changes over time in the treatment of women by the police. In the absence of audit procedures, the effect of differences in enforcement and recording practices among jurisdictions and over time cannot be determined.

---

2 This study reflects the treatment of 'delinquency' prior to the passage and implementation of the Young Offenders Act.

Appendix II - Offender Information System

Automation of the Inmate Record System of Correctional Services Canada began in 1970 and was converted to the Offender Information System (OIS) in 1976. OIS has since been broadened to include the Temporary Absence, National Parole Statistical Information and Parole Supervision Systems. Thirteen data bases in OIS contain 252 data fields, some of which are particularly useful for research purposes. However, because OIS was developed initially as an administrative and not as a research tool, there are some concerns about variation in the consistency and quality of the information collected.

Data collection is a non-centralized function and as a result, differing administrative procedures between regions and institutions may produce variations in coding and timeliness of input. The comparability of information acquired at different points in time can be affected by continuous updating by admitting institutions to account for: (1) decisions on outstanding charges or appeals; (2) convictions arising from offences committed while incarcerated; (3) re-admissions for parole or mandatory supervision revocations or escapes; (4) royal prerogatives, pardons and changes to legislation; and (5) sentences quashed by the courts. The reliance on self-reporting for a number of data fields such as ethnicity, marital status, citizenship and place of residence also cause concerns of reliability. Data collected for this publication are current as at July, 1985.

To enhance the reliability of the data, OIS maintains three regularly scheduled quality control procedures: (1) completeness and validity; (2) comparisons between OIS data bases and weekly population movement data supplied by institutions; and (3) a check for timeliness of processing data into the system.

Historical analysis of federal corrections data is most severely limited by the relatively recent development of a computer-based information system. Automation began with admissions, transfers and release data current as of March, 1970. Some crucial data elements such as major offence were not added to the system until 1974. Unless the inmate was on register in 1974, major offence information will not be available for admissions between 1970 and 1974.

OIS produces a variety of reports, most visibility, quarterly population profile reports on the total federal inmate population on register, native and non-native populations, the female offender population, and those incarcerated for murder. Requests for research related data are accepted. Data elements of particular value to research are: (1) inmate identification information such as ethnicity, sex, language, marital status, birth place, citizenship, residence of offender, and security level; and (2) admission and release information covering major offence, aggregate sentence, admissions type, admitting institution, institution of incarceration, previous incarceration, release type, parole supervision, and time served upon release.

References

Adams. S.G., The Female Offender: A Statistical Perspective. Ottawa: Solicitor General Canada, 1978.

Adler, F., Sisters in Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

Bienvenue, R.M. and A.H. Latif, "Arrests, Dispositions and Recidivism: A Comparison of Natives and Whites", Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections. 16(1974):105-115.

Birkenmayer, A. and S. Jolly, The Native Inmate in Ontario. Ministry of Correctional Services and the Ontario Native Council, 1981.

Brantingham, P. and P. Brantingham, Patterns in Crime. New York: MacMillan, 1984

Cowie, J., V. Cowie and E. Slater, Delinquency in Girls. London: Heineman, 1968.

Dubec, B., Native Women and the Criminal Justice System: An Increasing Minority. Ontario Native Women's Association, 1982.

Female Offender Study Committee Report to the Minister. Department of Health and Social Services, Government of the Northwest Territories, 1985.

Hann, R. and W. Harman, Full Parole Release: An Historical Descriptive Analysis. Prepared for the Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1986a.

Hann, R. and W. Harman, Release Risk Assessment: An Historical Descriptive Analysis. Prepared for the Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1986b.

Jolly, S. and J.P. Seymour, Anicinabe Debtor's Prison. Ontario Native Council on Justice and Ne-Chee Friendship Centre, 1983.

Landau, B., "The Adolescent Female Offender: Our Dilemma", Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections. 17(1975):146-153.

La Prairie, C., "Selected Criminal Justice and Socio-Demographic Data on Native Women", CanadianJournal of Criminology. (April,1984):161-169.

Lombroso, C., The Female Offender. Littleton: Rothman, 1895.

Mayhew, P. and L.J.F. Smith, "Crime in England and Wales and Scotland: a British Crime Survey Comparison", British Journal of Criminology. 25(1985):148-159.

Misch, C., C. Jefferson, B. Hayes and C. Graham, National Survey Concerning Female Inmates in Provincial and Territorial Institutions. Ottawa: The Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, 1982.

Pollak, O., The Criminality of Women. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950.

Rosenblatt, E. and C. Greenland, "Female Crimes of Violence", Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections. 16(1974):173-180.

Simon, R., Women and Crime. Toronto: Lexington Books, 1975.

Statistics Canada, Canadian Crime Statistics. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, Annual No. 85-205.

Statistics Canada, Crime and Traffic Enforcement Statistics. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, Annual No. 85-205.

Statistics Canada, Canada's Native People. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services No. 99-937, 1984.

Statistics Canada, Homicide Statistics. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, Annual No. 85-209.

Statistics Canada, Women in Canada: A Statistical Report. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, No. 89-503E, 1985.